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**Glory in the Hebrew Bible, the Qumran Thanksgiving Hymns, and the
Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice: a Comparative Study.**

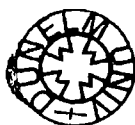
by Stephan Ahrnke

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Theology in Application for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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Introduction

Now that most of the texts from the Dead Sea are published, a study of a theologically significant word in the Scrolls suggests itself; for only now might we will be able to expound fully the scope of usage and meaning of such a word.

This study, therefore, is first of all an investigation of the usage and the meaning of כבוד in 1QH (the Thanksgiving Hymns) and the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice in comparison with the understanding of כבוד/ δόξα in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint.¹ The profound significance of the term can already be seen in the Hebrew Bible. Here, כבוד occurs quite frequently and is important especially with respect to the relationship between the chosen people Israel and God (JHWH), for it is strongly linked with God (JHWH), His mode of appearance, the place where He dwells, and even His nature.

Because the scope of this study is limited, we cannot include all Dead Sea Scrolls in detail. We will, therefore, focus especially on 1QH (Thanksgiving Hymns) and 4Q400-407 (the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice), where כבוד has an important and significant function, and where the understanding of the term differs most decisively from the understanding of כבוד in the Hebrew Bible and of δόξα in the Septuagint.

Furthermore, it is very interesting to record that despite the theological significance כבוד/ δόξα in the different writings and the nuanced manner in which the texts use כבוד, very little scholarly work has been done to investigate the precise sense of כבוד in the different writings from Qumran. In the scholarly literature, comments on the exact sense of כבוד in

¹ A thorough examination of the usage and meaning of "gloria" in the Vulgate is beyond the scope of this study. The Vulgate, however, will be taken into consideration where appropriate.



IQH are very rare. **כבוד** in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice has not been the object of any detailed analysis.

This situation, and the fact that there is little material on **כבוד** in the secondary literature, are good reasons in themselves for a detailed investigation of the usage and meaning of **כבוד** especially in IQH and the Shirot.

Apart from the investigation of the sense of **כבוד**/ δόξα, his study has another purpose: the *comparison* of the usage and meaning of **כבוד** in IQH and the Shirot with **כבוד**/ δόξα in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint. What are the differences between the understanding of **כבוד**/ δόξα in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, IQH, and the Shirot? Where are the connections or links between the writings with respect to **כבוד**/ δόξα? The answers of these questions are only possible after the investigation of the sense of the terms in the different writings. The comparative study sets out to discover whether we can find a tradition of understanding of the term between these different writings. This study does not intend to define the relationship between the writings themselves (if any), but it will certainly be a step towards a more complete understanding of their relationship. The investigation of the usage of **כבוד**/ δόξα in the different writings and their comparison will at least, we hope, produce a result which might allow comments on the relationship of the writings as well.

Investigating the usage and meaning of **כבוד**/ δόξα this study will mainly focus on the **כבוד**/ δόξα of God, for this is the most important aspect of the term especially in the Qumran writings which will be considered. Hence this study intends to bring the relationship of the members of the Qumran community and their God to a new light.

Methodologically the emphasis of this study will lie on a linguistical approach. I will look at the occurrences of כבוד/ δόξα in the different writings. How are the terms used grammatically? What words of theological significance are connected and linked with the terms? How are the terms grammatically linked especially with God? The question of authorship, historical background of the persons or place where the texts have their origin, or the textual form of the texts where כבוד/ δόξα occur will also be considered where appropriate.

Because the understanding of כבוד has not yet been fully investigated in 1QH and the Shirot, nor have its meanings in the different writings been compared with one another, the investigation of כבוד/ δόξα in the two writings of Qumran and in the LXX will consider all occurrences of the terms. Such a method of approach should present a full picture of the understanding of כבוד in the different writings, and should therefore avoid superficial conclusions.

Unfortunately, a complete enumeration of the occurrences in 1QH and especially the Shirot is not always possible. The quality of the extant texts is occasionally rather poor. The context of כבוד, or the setting the term occurs in is often missing. Sometimes we cannot define anymore how כבוד is linked with the surrounding text, or what function כבוד might have within the structure of the sentences. In these cases, only those occurrences will be taken into consideration which really allow a comment on the understanding of כבוד. If the usage of the term proves hard to determine, a comment will not be given: this should prevent unnecessary wrong impressions of the term from exercising any influence on the conclusions reached here.

Part I: כבוד in the Masoretic Text (MT)

The purpose of this study is the examination of the understanding of כבוד in 1QH and the Shirot in comparison with the MT, the LXX, and occasionally the Vulgate. Hence, the investigation of the understanding of כבוד in the MT is not aiming at an elaboration of a "history" of the term כבוד within the MT.² This investigation of the understanding of כבוד in the MT intends to give a basic description of the understanding of כבוד in the MT as the term must have been appeared to the authors of Qumran (or related writers).³

1. Basic meaning

In the MT כבוד occurs 199 times.⁴ Its basic or original meaning is "weight" (*gravitas*).⁵ Even if the word כבוד adopts other meanings they are basically developments of its sense as *gravitas*.

2. Secular understanding of כבוד

The MT, significantly, draw a distinction between כבוד understood in a secular sense, and the כבוד יהודה. So in the former case כבוד was, based on its basic meaning as "*gravitas*", understood as "jenes Aktivum, das Völker oder Menschen, ja sogar Gegenstände imponierend macht und zwar meist als etwas sinnfällig Erfahrbares"⁶. In Isa. 5:13, for example, the

² For that see especially B. Stein, *K'had Jahweh*, 1939.

³ Therefore, I will not draw a distinction between the usages and understandings of כבוד within different sources of the OT. Such a distinction is the result of a modern theological approach. The writers of Qumran certainly did not draw this distinction, but read the writings of the Hebrew Bible as one text.

⁴ M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 24.

⁵ E. Jacob, *Theology*, 79; M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 24; W. Eichrodt, *Theology* v.2, 30.

⁶ G.v. Rad, *Theologie I*, 238.

כבוד of a people is its "nobility", its "upper class" or in 17:3; 21:16 its "geschichtliche Mächtigkeit"⁷. In Isa. 16:14 כבוד is used as something which has quantity.⁸

A very important aspect of the understanding of כבוד in a secular sense is its usage in conjunction with human beings. G.v. Rad even calls כבוד an "anthropological term"⁹. Referring to humans and again based on its original denotation as "*gravitas*" כבוד was used often in the sense of "honour".¹⁰ "Yet honour was not thought of as a purely ideal quality, but, in accordance with the basic meaning, as something 'weighty' in man which gives him importance"¹¹ (for example: Gen. 13:2; 31:1; 45:13; Ps. 49:16; Isa. 5:13 etc.). In addition the meaning "strength" for כבוד is attested in Job 29:20, referring to a human.¹²

3. כבוד related to sacred paraphernalia

כבוד is used in the MT not only in connection with God himself "but all kinds of special religious objects may be endowed with kabod (...)"¹³: for example: the throne (1S. 2:8; Isa. 22:23; Jer. 14:21¹⁴; 17:12¹⁵), holy garments (Ex. 28:2,40), and crowns (Job. 19:9). These occurrences show כבוד in a "semi-secular" sense, for it is used grammatically independently of JHWH,¹⁶ but it is an attribute of objects which are closely related to JHWH.

⁷ ibid.

⁸ Isa. 16:14*: "(...) the כבוד of Moab will be brought into contempt, (...)".

⁹ G.v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*, 238.

¹⁰ G.v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*, 238.

¹¹ ibid.

¹² M. Weinfeld, *כבוד*, 25.

¹³ M. Weinfeld, *כבוד*, 28.

¹⁴ Correctly B. Stein, *K'bod Jahweh*, 100f. elaborates that in this case the כבוד-יְהוָה is not meant.

¹⁵ See footnote above.

¹⁶ Correctly B. Stein, *K'bod Jahweh*, 105 points out with regard to the relationship of כבוד and "the ark" that כבוד as such is not necessarily the כבוד of JHWH; this observation applies to the occurrence of כבוד as an attribute of other sacred paraphernalia as well.

4. כבוד related to God

In the MT, כבוד is used 33 times as יהוה כבוד.¹⁷ Here כבוד is an attribute of JHWH.

כבוד belongs directly to JHWH. כבוד is a part of the nature of God. Here as well כבוד keeps its basic meaning as "gravitas" or "importance" referring here to JHWH. It denotes here, then, "glory" or "splendour".¹⁸ This understanding of כבוד might be in the OT the most important one.

In order to describe the understanding of כבוד as יהוה כבוד more precisely, we will examine a few aspects of its occurrence in this sense in detail.

4.1. כבוד and the theophany

The כבוד יהוה occurs frequently in association with the description of a theophany (Ex. 16:10; 24:16f.; 40:34f.; Nu.17:7; Ps. 97:1-6; Ez. 1:4; 10:4).¹⁹ This appearance of the כבוד יהוה occurs mainly in two different ways.

First, especially in Exodus, the כבוד יהוה "is conceived as a blazing fire surrounded by a cloud"²⁰. Cloud and fire are the indispensable elements of the theophany.²¹ G.v. Rad calls, therefore, כבוד יהוה the "terminus technicus"²² for the theophany. Then he states that כבוד יהוה is "die Erscheinungsform schlechthin, in der sich Jahwe nach der Anschauung

¹⁷ And many more times it is found grammatically differently linked with God.

¹⁸ M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 27 who extends this denotation also to JHWH's sanctuary, city, or other sacred paraphernalia.

¹⁹ See also Freiherrn von Gall, *Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 61.

²⁰ M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 31.

²¹ A discussion whether cloud and fire were understood as manifestation of the כבוד יהוה, or as "accompanying phenomena" (M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 32) of the theophany, depends on the distinction between different sources within the text of the Hebrew Bible. With regard to Qumran this distinction must not be drawn. Therefore, such a discussion is secondary in the context of this thesis.

²² G.v. Rad, *Theologie I*, 239.

von P Israel zur Offenbarung besonderer Willensentschlüsse, zu wichtigen Schlichtungen usw. gestellt hat"²³.

Secondly, in Ezekiel occurs another description of the **כבוד יהוה**. "Ezekiel, whose imagery is closely allied to that of P, transfers his concept of *kabod* to the Jerusalem temple. Here *kabod* is depicted as a phenomenon of radiant splendour (Ez. 10:4; 43:2) that moves, rises, and comes near (9:3; 10:18; 11:23; 43:4). Like P, Ezekiel describes *kabod* as a blazing fire surrounded by radiance and a great cloud (1:4; 8:2)."²⁴ **כבוד** is here as well a divine phenomenon. Hence the statement of Th. C. Vriezen, *Theology*, 208 that in the visions of Ezekiel glory has to be considered as an "independent manifestation of Yahweh" certainly pushes the point too far, for Vriezen is referring to Ez. 3:23 and 8:4 where explicitly the **כבוד** of God is mentioned.²⁵

As **כבוד יהוה** the word **כבוד** is grammatically always an attribute of God, understood as a divine element, as part of the nature of JHWH. **כבוד** is here also "that aspect of activity of Jahweh that could be perceived by man and in which he [JHWH] himself is revealed in his power"²⁶.

4.2. The visibility of **כבוד**

With respect to the visibility of the **כבוד יהוה**, the MT offers an ambiguous picture.²⁷

Maybe depending on the different sources of the MT, the **כבוד יהוה** is described as well as a visible phenomenon, as something that people cannot see.²⁸

²³ G.v. Rad, *Theology I*, 239.

²⁴ M. Weinfeld, **כבוד**, 27.

²⁵ 3:23: **כבוד יהוה**; 8:4: **כבוד אלהי ישראל**.

²⁶ M. Weinfeld, **כבוד**, 33.

²⁷ A comprehensive discussion with respect to the different MT materials is beyond the scope of this study. For further details see: M. Weinfeld, **כבוד**, 31-34, esp. 33; W. Eichrodt, *Theology* v.2, 29-35; esp. 31ff.; B.

When **כבוד יהוה** is used as terminus technicus of the theophany, it is not always clear whether the authors meant that the **כבוד יהוה** itself, or rather cloud and fire are the visible elements of the theophany.²⁹ Similarly, when the **כבוד יהוה** appears above the "tent", it is difficult to define whether Israel or the Priests see the cloud or the **כבוד יהוה** itself.³⁰

Especially in Isaiah and the Psalms **כבוד יהוה** is used as object of **ראה**, but in many of those cases the text is prophetic and refers to the future. Hence, **כבוד יהוה** does not seem to be understood as a visible element in the presence of God.³¹

Besides the above texts, the MT offers also verses where **כבוד יהוה** is definitely understood as something which is not visible for humans. In Ex. 33:18-23 Moses desires to see the **כבוד יהוה** (v. 18), but he has to stand behind a cleft in the rock while it passes by (v. 22), and can only see it "from behind" (v. 23).

The ambiguity of this aspect of the understanding of the **כבוד יהוה** can also be demonstrated on the occasions where **כבוד יהוה** is the subject of the verb form **נראה** (3.sg.m.perf.niph.: "to appear")³², or **וירא** (3.sg.m. impf. niph.)³³. Here the **כבוד יהוה** seems to be understood as visible phenomenon. But again no watching people are mentioned,³⁴ and the action of the event comes from the **כבוד יהוה**.

Stein, *K'bod Jahweh*, 1939.

²⁸ In all the following cases **כבוד יהוה** is linked, sometimes as object, with the verb **ראה** which indicates already that **כבוד יהוה** might have been understood as visible. **כבוד יהוה** occurs 18 times in connection with this verb denoting "to see" (Qal), or "to appear, look" (Nif) (W. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 734f.).

²⁹ Cf. Ex. 24:17 where **כבוד יהוה** is an object of **ראה**, and it is compared with the fire (**כבוד יהוה כמראה**).

³⁰ Cf. especially Nu. 14:10; 17:7; 20:6; also in Ez. 10:4 the appearance of the **כבוד יהוה** is linked with the cloud; in Ez. 1:28 the appearance of the **כבוד יהוה** is compared with the "rainbow", hence it is not certain what the visible element is.

³¹ Cf. Isa. 35:2; 66:18; Ps. 97:6; 102:17; in Lev. 9:6 the future appearance of the **כבוד יהוה** depends on the observance of the commands of God.

³² Nu. 14:10.

³³ Indicating visibility most clearly is Lev. 9:23. Cf. also Nu. 16:19; 17:7; 20:6.

Hence, the **כבוד יהוה** as a visible phenomenon is *ambiguous*. Yet, we might state that the **כבוד יהוה** is a *phenomenon of the presence³⁵ of God which might be perceptible directly or indirectly by people.*³⁶

4.3. **כבוד** and a sacred place

Another aspect of **כבוד** in the OT is that, according to some texts, the theophany takes place either in "the tent" (for example Ex. 29:44; Lev. 9:6,23; Nu. 14:10; 17:7; 20:6), and **כבוד יהוה** is also "associated in particular with the temple"³⁷ (1.K. 8:11³⁸, Hag. 2:9³⁹, and Ps. 26:8; also in Isa. 6:3; Ez. 43:4). So in some traditions of the OT the appearance of the **כבוד** of God was associated with "holy places".

4.4. Eschatology

Many times **כבוד** occurs in the OT in an eschatological setting. **כבוד** was understood in some texts as an element of future revelation. The **כבוד** of God is, in those cases, the element which is revealed to Israel. Especially "in the prophets and the Psalms the future

³⁴ Problematic is also the question who was able to see the **כבוד יהוה**. According to several indications only people chosen by God (Moses: Ex.24:18; Moses and Aaron: Nu. 20:6) seem to have the ability. This idea might have been developed in the Shirot where only heavenly beings or purified people can experience **כבוד** (see below).

³⁵ H.D. Preuß, *Theologie Bd. I*, 191: "Zeichen und Mittel seiner [JHWH's] wirksamen Gegenwart".

³⁶ But one cannot call it simply *visible*, as E. Jacob, *Theology*, 80 does. Stating that **כבוד יהוה** is only understood as visible "im messianischen Reich" (Freiherrn von Gall, *Herrlichkeit Gottes*; 65f.) does not reflect its occurrence in the MT. Correctly M. Weinfeld, **כבוד**, 33 (see above footnote 26). Also correct to W. Eichrodt, *Theology* v.2; 29-35, who sees that the **כבוד יהוה** "includes an element of appearance, of that which catches the eye" (p.30), and that it "becomes the reflected splendour of the transcendent God" (p.32), but that it is also understood as absolutely transcendent (p.31).

³⁷ Th. C. Vriezen, *Theology*, 208; also E. Jacob, *Theology*, 81.

³⁸ **כבוד יהוה את־בית יהוה**.

³⁹ In Hag. 2:9 even the word combination **כבוד יהוה גדול** occurs which is a grammatical link between the **כבוד יהוה** and the temple.

deliverance of the people in Zion is depicted as a new revelation of the kabod. In the future, the Lord will reveal his glory again, as in the days of old when he led Israel out of Egypt"⁴⁰ (for example Isa. 4:5; 24:23; 60:1f.; 62:1f.; 66:18f.; Ez. 39:21; Ps. 102:17).

4.5. כבוד and creation

The texts Nu. 14:21; Ps. 72:19; Isa. 6:3; 52:10; 63:12 show, in their eschatological setting, another understanding of the כבוד of God: the future revelation of the כבוד יהוה takes *universal dimensions*. "Not just the Israelites but the whole world will behold the glory and splendour of God (...)"⁴¹.

Furthermore, it is mentioned that the creation has also the כבוד of its creator (Ps. 42:8; 48:11).

4.6. כבוד uttered to God

In the MT, כבוד is not only a divine phenomenon, but it is also described as being given from people to God (cf. Jos. 7:19; Ps. 29:1).⁴² Here כבוד is grammatically not linked with JHWH, but because its origin is in JHWH, its character is here "divine" too.

⁴⁰ M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 34f..

⁴¹ G.v. Rad, *Theologie I*, 238; M. Weinfeld, כבוד, 35.

⁴² H.D. Preuß, *Theologie Bd. I*, 192.

Part II: Δόξα in the Septuagint

I. Introduction

If we seek for an understanding of כבוד between the time of the OT and the writings of Qumran, for fuller understanding of כבוד in 1QH and the Shirot, it is absolutely essential to examine the Septuagint. How did the Septuagint translate the כבוד of the Hebrew Bible?

Two different aspects of כבוד as understood by the LXX need to be examined. First, what is the general translation of כבוד in the LXX? Second, does the term which LXX mostly use as translation of כבוד have the same sense as כבוד in the MT?⁴³

II. The translation of כבוד in the LXX

According to J. Lisowsky⁴⁴, כבוד occurs 191 times in the OT. 170 times the LXX has ἡ δόξα for כבוד.⁴⁵ Only 21 times the LXX has a term other than δόξα, when the OT reads כבוד. Hence the usual and basic translation of כבוד in the LXX is ἡ δόξα. But, because the LXX translates כבוד 21 times not with δόξα, but with some other words, and because the LXX uses the term δόξα more often in the canonical texts of the OT than the Hebrew Bible uses the word כבוד,⁴⁶ the term δόξα cannot simply be considered as *identical* with כבוד in

⁴³ A.H. Forster, "The meaning of Δόξα in the Greek Bible", *Anglican Theological Review* 12 (1929/30), pp. 311-316 enumerates in her article first all verses where δόξα is not the translation of כבוד (pp. 312-314), then the meaning of כבוד in the MT is examined (pp. 314f.), and finally the author demonstrates the relationship of δόξα and the כבוד of God. So she is right in pointing out that "δόξα passes from its original meaning of subjective opinion to its most common meaning of reputation, renown, and then suffers a sea change because it happens to be the word selected to translate kabod in G. (...)" (ibid, p. 316). But she misses entirely the point that exactly those occasions when δόξα does not render כבוד demonstrate very clearly how the phenomenon δόξα was understood in the LXX in contrast to כבוד in the MT.

⁴⁴ J. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 661f.

⁴⁵ A.H. Forster, *Δόξα*, 314 finds 181 occurrences, and notes also the immense importance of this fact.

a different language.⁴⁷ Hence δόξα is at the most a "dominant equivalent"⁴⁸ of the Hebrew כבוד in Greek LXX. But as we shall see, δόξα is not only a translation of כבוד. It presents itself in the LXX as a theological concept depending on the theological ideas of the translator, or translators.

So the questions we have to ask now are: How did the LXX understand δόξα? In which settings and with what understanding does the LXX use δόξα in verses, where the Hebrew Bible does not have כבוד? What are the differences in the understanding of כבוד in the OT and δόξα in the LXX?

III. How is δόξα used in verses where the Hebrew Bible has כבוד?

In the Canonical writings of the Hebrew Bible, כבוד occurs most in the Psalms (49 times), 40 times in Isa., 19 times in Ez., 15 times in the Prov., 12 times in 2.Chr., 10 times in Ex., 7 times in Nu., and 6 times in 1.Chr..⁴⁹

Now, it is very informative to see how many times the LXX has in its different writings δόξα for כבוד, or uses δόξα when it is not the translation of כבוד. It is a very interesting question why the LXX dealt with δόξα differently in its writings. For example, כבוד occurs 49 times in the Psalms of the Hebrew Bible, but only three times (Ps. 4:3; 7:6; 16:9) it is not translated with δόξα. The situation in Isaiah is entirely different: there כבוד occurs 40 times in the Hebrew writing, whereas the LXX translates כבוד 9 times (!) with a different term. In

⁴⁶ Δόξα occurs 280 times in the canonical books of the LXX (G v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω...*, 242).

⁴⁷ Therefore, one can agree with the statement of G. v. Rad and G. Kittel that "the LXX word receives its distinctive force from the fact that it is used for כבוד," (G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω...*, 242), but one cannot agree with their statement that δόξα "has become identical with כבוד" (ibid.). The last statement ignores the fact that δόξα (21 times) is not used where the Hebrew Bible has כבוד, and is used 177 times without rendering כבוד.

⁴⁸ G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω...*, 242.

⁴⁹ At this point I am focusing on purpose only on those canonical writings where כבוד occurs 6 times or more, to gain a general overall impression of how LXX deal with the word.

Ezekiel (as we have seen an important writing for the understanding of **כבוד** in the Hebrew Bible) the **כבוד** occurs 19 times, but only once (!) it is not translated in the LXX with $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$ (Ez. 31:18). In the Proverbs of the Hebrew Bible **כבוד** occurs 15 times, only twice the LXX has not $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$. And in 2.Chronicles, where **כבוד** occurs 12 times, the LXX translates always (!) with $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$. In Genesis we can find **כבוד** three times, and only one of these texts has not $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$ in the LXX. In Exodus **כבוד** occurs 10 times, the LXX only once does not read $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$. In Numbers the LXX translates always with $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$ (7 times). Jeremiah in the LXX has only once not $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$: **כבוד** occurs there 5 times. In 1.Chronicles the term **כבוד** is used 6 times, and the LXX has only once not put $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$ for it. In all other writings of the Hebrew Bible, where **כבוד** occurs (1.S.; Ho.; Ha.; Hg.; Sa.; Qo.; Est.; Ne.; Lev.; 1K.; Mi.; Ma.; Hi.), the LXX translates **כבוד** always with $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$.

IV. The Greek translation of **כבוד** where the LXX does not have $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$

1. Isaiah

9 times in Isaiah the LXX does not translate **כבוד** with $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$. It is useful to analyse those verses first, because they show how the authors of the LXX precisely understood the Hebrew term **כבוד**: in general, one can state that as soon as the Hebrew Bible uses **כבוד** in a *secular sense*, the LXX avoids the Greek term $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$.⁵⁰ The LXX translates **כבוד** only with $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$ when **כבוד** is used in relation to God, i.e. grammatically in conjunction with the Tetragram,

⁵⁰ The following verses belong all to the category of secular usage of **כבוד** in the Hebrew Bible which we examined above (see pp. 4f.).

(יהוה) מלך, שם יהוה, or other divine attributes. At this stage of our investigation we can say that δόξα is understood as a purely divine referent in the Septuagint of Isaiah.

So in Isa. 5:13 the Hebrew Bible uses כבוד in a secular fashion as the "upper class" of a people (וכבודו מתי רעב), and therefore the LXX does not translate כבוד with δόξα, but with πλῆθος (καὶ πλῆθος ἐγενήθη νεκρῶν διὰ λιμὸν). In Isa. 10:18 (וכבוד יערו) וכבוד is used in a secular sense as an attribute of the "forest" (יער). Hence the LXX translates not with כבוד, but with τὰ ὄρη, by changing the whole structure of the phrase (ἀποσβεσθήσεται τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ οἱ δρυμοί). In Isa. 11:10 (ודיתח) (מנחתו כבוד) the LXX has τιμή⁵¹ for כבוד, because כבוד is used in a secular fashion as attribute of "Jesse". Again, in Isa. 14:18 τιμή occurs for כבוד in the LXX, for in the Hebrew כבוד is used as an attribute of "all kings of the people" (כל-מלכי גוים), therefore used in a secular sense.⁵² In Isa. 22:18 כבוד is used as an attribute of the "chariots" (מרכבות) (כבוד), and therefore in a secular sense. The LXX translates with καλός (τὸ ἄρμα σου τὸ καλόν). In Isa. 61:6 the LXX has καὶ ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν θαυμασθήσεσθε for וכבודם תתימרו. The כבוד of the Hebrew Bible is here the כבוד of the גוים, and therefore appears in a secular sense. LXX consequently translates with ὁ πλοῦτος.

In Isa. 22:24 כבוד is used in a secular sense:

כל כבוד בית־אביו.

The LXX render this secular use of כבוד not with δόξα, but with the adjectival form ἔνδοξος:

⁵¹ This term is used in Ps. 8:6 as translation of יהרר!

⁵² The LXX has: πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν τιμῇ.

παῖς ἔνδοξος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Hence ἔνδοξος seems not to be used the same way as δόξα, and may even be a way of avoiding that noun on the part of the translators.

In 59:19 the Greek term ἔνδοξος occurs again for the Hebrew כבוד. But here the situation is more difficult, because in the MT כבוד is used as the כבוד of God:

וַיִּירָאוּ מִמֶּעֶרֶב אֶת־שֵׁם יְהוָה וּמִמְזִרְחַ־שָׁמֶשׁ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ.

καὶ φοβηθήσονται οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἔνδοξον.

Here one could argue that ἔνδοξος is used in a secular sense, for it does not have a personal pronoun referring to God. But ἔνδοξος depends grammatically here on τὸ ὄνομα which in 19a is mentioned as τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.⁵³ In 19b τὸ ὄνομα has certainly the same connotation, and ἔνδοξος is herefore used grammatically independent of ὁ κύριος, but in a "divine setting". Hence ἔνδοξος is not used in the same way as δόξα.

In Isa. 24:23 the situation is different again. Here כבוד occurs in the Hebrew Bible in a divine setting, for the author tells us that יהוה צבאות will be King on Mt. Zion and in Jerusalem "in glory" (כבוד). Uniquely, LXX does not have the noun δόξα here, but changes the structure of the sentence and uses the verb δοξάζω (δοξασθήσεται). This way of dealing with the term כבוד agrees with the thesis that the LXX uses δόξα only for כבוד when the word is used directly as the כבוד of God.

⁵³ It is difficult to give reasons, why τὸ ὄνομα occurs also in 19b. It is doubtful that it is the translation of the 3.sg.m. suffix of כבוד referring to God. In that case τὸ ὄνομα would be a substitute for יהוה. It is more plausible that LXX either translated שֵׁם accidentally with ὄνομα, or it tried to assimilate 19b to 19a: the enemies fear the *name* of God or the glorious name (of God). כבוד was therefore replaced by τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἔνδοξον. The last possibility is the more plausible one. Possibly LXX translators, seeing reference to the Name of God and glory in the same verse, have introduced into their version a phrase which has become common through its use in liturgy and prayer: see Tobit 8:5; cf. Judith 16:13.

2. Other relevant texts:

We now turn the other canonical writings of the OT. The situation there is similar to what we have already noted, although the number of exceptions is higher than in Isaiah. In five verses (Ex. 28:2,40; Ps. 4:3; 16:9; Ez. 31:18; Prov. 26:19) כבוד is used in a secular sense. In all of these verses the LXX does not translate with δόξα.

In addition we find four verses (Ps. 7:6; Prov. 25:27; Jer. 48:18; 1.Chr. 17:18), where the LXX translated כבוד either with a derivative of δόξα, or even with δόξα itself. The question is, whether these verses are arguments against the thesis that the authors of the LXX tried to give δόξα a purely divine reference. Looking at the texts in detail, one notes that some present problems. For example in Prov. 25:27 the LXX seems to have ἔνδοξος for כבוד; indeed we have already seen that ἔνδοξος could sometimes be used for כבוד.⁵⁴ However, MT is almost certainly corrupt; it reads:

וְהִקָּר כְּבֹדָם כְּבוֹד (v.27b)

which should probably be emended to וְהִקָּר דְּבָרֵי כְבוֹד.⁵⁵ Hence, the setting of the verse is secular.⁵⁶ The LXX, then, reads a text which is (referring to the whole phrase) neither identical with text in the OT, nor with the proposals for alternatives in the apparatus of the BHS (LXX: τιμᾶν δὲ χρῆ λόγους ἐνδόξους (v.27b)).⁵⁷ These observations show very clearly that the authors of the LXX saw the difficulties of the Masoretic text, and tried to correct it according to their own ideas. The usage of ἔνδοξος is explainable, because it demonstrates an attempt to find a solution for the difficult Hebrew text: LXX is not using the theologically

⁵⁴ See above pp. 14f..

⁵⁵ One might think that MT is lectio difficilior. But, considering the proposal given in the apparatus of the BHS (וְהִקָּר דְּבָרֵי כְבוֹד), it is more plausible that text contains a copying mistake which was later corrected by the LXX (see especially Syriac and Targum). Without the correction, the text does not make sense.

⁵⁶ Looking at v.27a one can easily see that the setting is secular: "It is not good to eat much honey, (...)" (v.27a)). Thus v.27b does not really refer to divine matters, although the terms דְּבָר (prp of text) or ὁ λόγος (LXX) have (in the Christian religion) traditionally a divine character.

⁵⁷ "...it is right to honour glorious words...".

highly significant δόξα (because the Hebrew text is difficult, and the setting secular), but it is at the same time not doing something entirely different from the Hebrew. This verse is, therefore, not an argument against our thesis above.

In 1.Chr. 17:18 once more the LXX changes the structure of the Hebrew sentence, and uses the verb δοξάζω instead of the noun δόξα. Here as well the LXX avoids the theologically highly significant term δόξα and uses the verb δοξάζω which in the LXX is not inextricably linked to purely divine or heavenly contexts.

Problematic for this thesis are two texts (Ps. 7:6 and Jer. 48:18), where כבוד in the MT is used in a secular sense, and the LXX still translates כבוד with δόξα.⁵⁸ These exceptions, however, are of no great significance. In the Psalms, as we have seen above⁵⁹, כבוד occurs 49 times in the Hebrew Bible, and only three times the LXX does not have δόξα for כבוד. So 45 times in the Psalms the LXX has δόξα for כבוד used in a divine context in the MT. A single verse should not, therefore, be given too much weight.

Because כבוד in the Hebrew Bible and δόξα in the LXX do not often occur in Jeremiah⁶⁰, Jer. 48:18 (LXX: Jer. 31:18), where כבוד occurs in a secular sense, and which is in the LXX translated with δόξα, has a similar significance: it does not falsify the thesis that the authors of the LXX tried to use δόξα only when כבוד in the Hebrew Bible was used as the כבוד of God.

⁵⁸ In Ps. 7:6b the LXX has "καὶ τὴν δόξαν μου εἰς χοῦν κατασκηνώσαιν διάψαλμα." for the Hebrew "סלה" וכבודי לעפר ישכן". In both cases the possessive pronoun (1.sg.suffix) refers to the psalmist. The usage of δόξα for כבוד is, therefore, intended to convey a secular sense.

⁵⁹ See p. 12.

⁶⁰ See above p. 13.

3. Summary

It is clear that the LXX draw a distinction between a secular sense of כבוד, and its employment as the כבוד of יהוה. In the former case the LXX avoids the noun δόξα; in the latter case, the LXX has always δόξα.⁶¹ Ἡ δόξα, therefore, is understood in the LXX as a purely divine referent, in contrast to כבוד in the Hebrew Bible, which may be used in secular setting. Δόξα, used as a translation of כבוד, is always the δόξα of God.

V. Δόξα as substitute in the LXX Pentateuch for יהוה in the Hebrew Bible?

כבוד, as we have seen, is very much linked with God. Hence δόξα could be understood as a substitute for the Divine Name. Was the word δόξα in the LXX a way of speaking about God without using the Name יהוה?⁶²

In the Septuagint Pentateuch the word δόξα occurs 31 times. In 16 of these verses the Hebrew Bible has also the Name יהוה.⁶³ What exactly is the relationship between יהוה in the Hebrew Bible and δόξα in the LXX?

In 13 cases, where δόξα occurs in the LXX, and the Hebrew Bible has יהוה, the word combination in which יהוה occurs is כבוד יהוה.⁶⁴ The LXX has in all these cases ἡ δόξα κυρίου. The authors of the LXX, therefore, translate כבוד with δόξα, and the Name יהוה with ὁ κύριος. That means that one cannot presume that the LXX uses δόξα grammatically as a substitute for the Name יהוה. Nevertheless, the frequent usage of δόξα in connection

⁶¹ Enumeration of these texts also in D.M. Leon, *Palabra y Gloria.*, 147.

⁶² In order to answer this question at this point I will focus on the most important part of the LXX: the Pentateuch.

⁶³ Ex. 16:7; 16:10; 24:16,17; 40:34,35; Lev. 9:6,23; Nu. 12:8; 14:10,21; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6; 24:11; Dtn. 5:24(21).

⁶⁴ Ex. 16:7; 16:10; 24:16,17; 40:34,35; Lev. 9:6,23; Nu. 14:10,21; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6.

with the Name יהוה is obvious, and ἡ δόξα κυρίου is indeed the Greek word combination for כבוד יהוה. So the link between δόξα and the Name יהוה is very strong. The usual translational term in the LXX for יהוה is ὁ κύριος.

In Nu. 12:8, however, the LXX has τὴν δόξαν κυρίου for the Hebrew תַּמְנַת יְהוָה. The usage of δόξα is identical here with the text above; it merely translates a different Hebrew term. In Nu. 24:11 the situation is similar to the text above, but the grammatical circumstances are different: the LXX has κύριος τῆς δόξης for יהוה מַכְבֹּד. And in Dtn. 5:24(21) in the Hebrew Bible occurs כְּבוֹדוֹ. The suffix refers to יהוה who is mentioned immediately beforehand (הִרְאֵנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ). The LXX has ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. Here also the LXX reads δόξα for כבוד, and κύριος for יהוה. These verses corroborate the view given above, that δόξα was not used in the LXX as substitute for the Name יהוה.

In sum: *grammatically* δόξα is mainly the translation of כבוד. Ὁ κύριος is the translation of יהוה. But, because ἡ δόξα κυρίου is the translation of כְּבוֹד־יְהוָה, δόξα is of course very strongly linked with the Name יהוה. One could say that it is almost a part of the Name itself, but grammatically it is not the translation of יהוה. Therefore, one cannot say that it is understood as a *substitute* for the Name יהוה.

VI. How did the LXX understand the term δόξα where this term is not the translation of כבוד?

The use of δόξα in the LXX, where the Hebrew Bible does not have כבוד, is one of the most fascinating. We have already seen above⁶⁵ that δόξα may be called the "equivalent of כבוד". This equivalent is only used as the "δόξα of the Lord".

But in the LXX can be found 63 verses where δόξα occurs not as translation of כבוד.⁶⁶ Including כבוד, δόξα is used as translation of 25 different Hebrew terms.⁶⁷ Many of them "bear the meanings of strength, wealth, beauty"⁶⁸, as we will see. The analysis of these verses will help to clarify the understanding of δόξα in the LXX.

1. Δόξα as attribute of God

The first and obvious feature of δόξα in the LXX is its use as attribute of God. Δόξα occurs 23 times (Ex. 15:7,11; Nu. 23:22 (24:8); 1.Chr. 22:5; Ps. 16(17):15; Mi. 5:4(3); Isa. 2:10,19,21; 14:11; 24:14; 26:10; 28:5; 30:30; (40:6;) 40:26; 45:25(24); 60:19; 62:8; 63:12,14; Jer.23:9) with this meaning. A very good example of this understanding is Nu. 23:22 (24:8). There the Hebrew text describes God by paraphrasing: God is like תועפות ראם⁶⁹. The LXX translates this term with δόξα (ὡς δόξα μονοκέρωτος). One can see here how the authors of the LXX have translated Hebrew terms denoting earthly things with δόξα, since there terms describe something of the nature of God. In 1.Chr. 22:5 (למעלה לשם)

⁶⁵ See above pp. 11f..

⁶⁶ The number of occurrences of δόξα in this sense in Isaiah is striking (34 times), when compared with occurrences in all the other canonical writings (29 times).

⁶⁷ A.H. Forster, *Δόξα*, p. 314.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ "Horns of a wild ox".

ולתפארת) the LXX translate the term תפארת with δόξα: the "name" and "glory" of God are according to the LXX "magnificent".⁷⁰

Sometimes the LXX translates with δόξα terms which denote "majesty", and which are used as attributes of God. So in Mi. 5:4(3)⁷¹ the LXX translates גאון, an attribute of the "name of JHWH (his) God", as δόξα. In Ex. 15:7 גאון, as attribute of God, is the Hebrew original of δόξα.

A very interesting verse, where δόξα is in the LXX the translation of an attribute of God is Ps. 16(17):15, for the LXX has for the תמונה of JHWH ("form of JHWH") the δόξα of JHWH. The term δόξα is also used for an attribute of God in Ex. 15:11 (for תהלה), and in Jer. 23:9 (ἀπὸ προσώπου εὐπρεπείας δόξης αὐτοῦ for דברי קדשו).

A tendency for understanding δόξα in the LXX becomes clearer: words which describe elements strongly linked with God, or even parts of the nature of God Himself, are translated as δόξα. Δόξα seems to be understood as a phenomenon intimately linked to God. So the LXX either replaces Hebrew terms which are used to describe those elements or parts of the nature of God in a rather poetic manner by δόξα, or makes δόξα do duty for the power of God. Δόξα, however, in the LXX is a theologically refined term; the authors understood it in a quite distinctly theological way as associated with God.

In Isaiah, the LXX uses δόξα 16 times as an attribute of God. On these occasions δόξα translates four times תפארת which is used in the Hebrew Bible as an attribute of God (28:5; 60:19; 63:12,14). So in 28:5 δόξα is used to translate an attribute of an element which is used to describe God's rule of His people (ὁ πλακεῖς τῆς δόξης for ולצפירת

⁷⁰ For the investigation of the relationship between כבוד/δόξα and שם see pp. 53ff..

⁷¹ ועמר ורעה בעז יהוה בגאון שם יהוה אלחיו
καὶ στήσεται καὶ ὀψεται καὶ ποιμανεῖ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰσχύι κυρίου, καὶ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ
ὀνόματος κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξουσιν.

(תפארה). 60:19 is a classic case: because לתפארתך is literally used as attribute of God, the LXX translates with δόξα (ὁ θεὸς δόξα σου for ותפארתך ואלהיך) and in 63:14 δόξα is the translation of an attribute (תפארת) of שם which refers to the name of God (ὄνομα δόξης for שם תפארת). In 63:12 תפארת is again used as attribute of an element of God, hence the LXX translates with δόξα. Moreover, δόξα is used frequently (three times 14:11; 24:14; 26:10) as translation for גאון. In all three verses גאון is used in the Hebrew Bible as an attribute of God. In 2:10,19,21 two Hebrew terms are used to describe the nature of God. One of them (הדר) is translated in the LXX with δόξα. On one occasion (30:30) the LXX translates הדר used as attribute of the "voice of God" (את־הדר קולו) with δόξα (δόξα τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ). The same phenomenon occurs in 40:26. There the LXX translates אונים used as an attribute of God in the Hebrew Bible with δόξα. In 45:25(24) the LXX has for עז δόξα. עז is used in this verse as attribute of God, while in 62:8 it is used as attribute of an element of God.⁷² Here as well the LXX translates with δόξα.⁷³ In 12:2 too, the LXX has δόξα for עז. Here the psalmist talks about *his own* עז/δόξα.⁷⁴ But his δόξα is defined in relation of JHWH.

This shows clearly that the term δόξα belongs in the realm of the *divine*, only used, but necessarily used, if a part of the nature of God or an element of God is described. Δόξα is here used as an *attribute of God*, and understood as a *part of the nature of God*. The nature of δόξα is *divine*.

⁷² For the textcritical problem in Isa. 62:8 see G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκῶ*..., 244.

⁷³ There is only one more verse left where the LXX seems to translate an attribute of God with δόξα (Isa. 40:6). But there the text of the LXX is different from the Hebrew text. The LXX adds the genitive ἀνθρώπου. Hence the δόξα which is the translation of an attribute of God (חסד) is not the attribute of God anymore, but of man (MT: הַשְׂדֵּה כְּצִיֵּן וְכִלְ-חֲסִדוֹ; LXX: πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἀνθρὸς χόρτου).

⁷⁴ "(...) my [author's] strength (עֲזִי) and my singing is JHWH (...)"

(...) διότι ἡ δόξα μου καὶ ἡ αἰνεσίς μου κύριος (...).

2. Δόξα as visible phenomenon

The authors of the LXX understood δόξα as an divine element or even an attribute of God which may be visible to human beings. Four times (Ex. 33:19; Nu. 12:8; 27:20; Ps. 16(17):15) the authors of the LXX translate a Hebrew term which either itself denotes a visible earthly thing, or which occurs in a setting giving it the sense of something visible. Three times the Hebrew term is used as attribute of JHWH! The most important text in this regard which shows clearly the intention of the authors of the LXX is Ex. 33:19. As we have seen above,⁷⁵ Moses desires in this text to see the כבוד of JHWH. God, however, answers him that he, the mortal Moses, will not be able to see the "glory of God". But, God says to Moses, he will be able to see the טוב יהוה which will pass before him. The authors of the LXX translate the term which in the Hebrew Bible is used to describe an attribute of God which can be seen by Moses, namely טוב, with δόξα. Here the theological intention of the authors of the LXX is clear: δόξα is understood as an element of God (perhaps a phenomenon *along-side* God) which is *visible* for human beings.

This theological idea is also evident in Nu. 12:8. Instead of תמנת יהוה, the LXX has δόξα καὶ εἶδεν. Here the authors of the LXX point out literally that the δόξα καὶ εἶδεν can be seen by the humans. Ps. 16(17):15 implies that the δόξα of JHWH is visible, because of the context: v. 15a talks about "seeing" (חזה) the righteousness (צדק) of JHWH. Hence, by replacing תמונה by δόξα in v. 15a, the authors imply that the δόξα of JHWH can be seen as well. The situation in Nu. 27:20 is a little different. According to the Hebrew Bible, Moses gives some of his הוד to Joshua. This event is observed by the congregation. The LXX reads

⁷⁵ See p. 8.

δόξα for יהוה. Hence, the text implies that the δόξα given from Moses to Joshua can be seen by the humans.

In Isaiah δόξα is also understood in 5 verses (11:3; 26:10; 33:17; 52:14; 53:2) as a visible element. Most important is 26:10, where δόξα has a strongly visible aspect, although it is literally an attribute of God.⁷⁶ In 33:17 the visibility of δόξα is also implied, because כיפיו occurs in connection with the verb הוזה, respectively δόξα in conjunction with ὄψομαι. Δόξα is used here as an attribute of the king. In 52:14 and 53:2 another theological idea of the authors of the LXX comes into focus. Here the LXX translates attributes of the Messiah with δόξα. Each time it is implied that the δόξα as attribute of the Messiah is visible.

Concluding, one may say that the LXX replaces Hebrew words with δόξα which in the Hebrew Bible are on the one hand linked with God, and on the other hand denote elements which are visible. Δόξα, therefore, could be understood in the LXX as *visible divine element*, or even as a *visible attribute of God*.

3. Δόξα offered by humans towards God

Δόξα as something which is given by men *towards God* indicates that the worshippers are giving God what is due to Him.⁷⁷ In 2.Chr. 30:8 the Hebrew text says: "(...) but give your hand (תנו יד) to JHWH and come to His sanctuary." The LXX has instead: "δότε δόξαν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ...". So, according to the LXX, the temple is the place where humans give δόξα to JHWH.

In Ps 67(68):35 the LXX uses δόξα in the same way. Within the praise of the psalm עז is used in an invitation to "give power to God" (תנו עז לאלהים), v.35a. The LXX replaces

⁷⁶ The LXX has in 26:10: ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου; the Hebrew Bible has רב־לִירָאָה גְאוּרַת יְהוָה.
⁷⁷ G. v. Rad/B G. Kittel, *δοξαω*..., 244.

עֲזָ with δόξα.⁷⁸ In Isa. 12:2 the psalmist offers his עֲזָ to God. Δόξα, therefore, expresses here something which humans offer to God, although where the MT does not use כְּבוֹד. But it should be noted that the LXX uses δόξα in this sense also in verses where δόξα translates Hebrew כְּבוֹד (for example Jer. 13:16; Ps. 28(29):1).

This use of δόξα indicates as well that δόξα is *strongly linked with God*, for it is His δόξα which is due to Him. None of these verses furnish a sense of δόξα as something independent of God.

4. Eschatology

Δόξα is at various places used in an eschatological setting. So, for example, in Isa. 4:5 and 24:23, where כְּבוֹד is used in an eschatological setting, the term is translated with δόξα (4:5) and δοξάζω (24:23) in the LXX. Looking at the verses where δόξα occurs without being the translation of כְּבוֹד, one discovers that δόξα was understood almost in the same way as כְּבוֹד in the MT. Many times δόξα, when not translating כְּבוֹד, is used in a primarily eschatological setting (for example: Ps. 16(17):15; Mi. 5:4(3); Isa. 2:10,19,21; 3:18; 11:3; 24:14; 26:10; 28:5; 45:25(24)). Most often it occurs in texts which describe the final judgment or the expectation of the Messiah. But nowhere in those texts is δόξα used to refer to something which will actually be revealed. Only in Isa. 60:19 ("(...) JHWH will be your eternal light, and your God will be your δόξα.") is δόξα really linked with a future event; but there JHWH is the person who will be revealed.

⁷⁸ Because δόξα is used only a few times as something offered to God, one can hardly say that the usage of it in this verse is typical, as G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*..., 243 do.

5. Δόξα and the temple

Very interesting with regard to God is δόξα translating elements of the sanctuary or the temple. Three times (1.Chr. 16:27; 2.Chr. 3:6; Ps. 111(112):3) the authors of the LXX translate Hebrew terms which denote elements found in the temple or the sanctuary with δόξα. So in 1.Chr. 16:27 the LXX has δόξα instead of ⁷⁹הֹדֶר which is in the sanctuary of JHWH. Instead of using an ordinary word to describe the beauty (MT: פֶּאֶר) of the temple, the LXX uses in 2.Chr. 3:6 the term δόξα. And again in Ps. 111(112):3, where the Hebrew Bible gives a wonderful description of the temple (הֹדֶן-וְעֶשֶׂר בְּבֵיתוֹ), the LXX replaces the ordinary term הֹדֶן which has primarily a secular sense with δόξα (δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ). In Isaiah the LXX uses the term δόξα three times as translation of terms which are related to the temple. Isa. 6:1 shows clearly how the LXX dealt with texts where the Hebrew Bible describes the presence of God in the temple using elaborate language. Terms used to describe the presence of God were replaced by δόξα. שֹׁרֵל in Isa. 6:1 is, therefore, in the LXX replaced by δόξα. In Isa. 63:15 δόξα occurs in the LXX for an attribute of the place where God is.⁸⁰ Finally, in Isa. 64:11(10) δόξα occurs as well in conjunction with the temple. These usages affect the understanding of δόξα in two different ways: first, δόξα was understood as part of the temple, and therefore linked with God. But secondly, the authors are not using here δόξα τοῦ κυρίου. It is only δόξα that is object of the temple. Hence at this point δόξα itself gains a tiny bit of "independence" from God.

6. Δόξα and the king(s)

In the LXX the term δόξα is used five times in conjunction with a king. It is interesting to note that δόξα in this context occurs in the LXX only in conjunction with earthly kings and

⁷⁹ The text is corrupt, but this does not really effect the term הֹדֶר.

⁸⁰ MT: קִדְּשָׁךְ וְתַפְאֲרֶתְךָ מְזַבֵּל וְרָאָה מְזַבֵּל; LXX: ἰδέεαι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἁγίου σου καὶ δόξης σου.

not with יהוה המלך. In 1.Chr. 29:25 the Hebrew Bible tells us that the kingdom of Solomon has הוד. The LXX translates הוד with δόξα. Not even the chosen king of Israel is the theme in Prov. 14:28. There the Hebrew Bible has "ברב-עם הדרת-מלך" which is in the LXX translated as "ἐν πολλῶν ἔθνοι δόξα βασιλέως". Δόξα, therefore, is used as translation of הוד in a purely secular setting. The same happens in Jer. 13:11, where δόξα stands for לתפארת. Two verses in Isaiah (10:12; 33:17) reflect the same situation. In Isa. 10:12 תפארת is used as attribute of the "king of Assur" in the Hebrew Bible. In 33:17 as well, כבוד is used as translation of an attribute of a king (ביפיו).

7. Δόξα in a secular sense

Isa. 10:12 and 33:17 show another, very interesting aspect, of δόξα in the LXX. Sometimes the LXX uses δόξα in a secular fashion, where כבוד was not used in the MT. So, for example, in Prov. 14:28; Ez. 27:7,10 and Jer. 13:18⁸¹ δόξα occurs in a secular sense. In Isaiah this understanding of δόξα occurs five times (3:18; 17:4; 20:5; 22:25; 28:1,4), and seems to contradict the thesis that the LXX always understood it as related to the divine. But one can explain these occurrences as relics of an understanding of the term found in the Hebrew Bible itself. Hence what we can see in the LXX is a *very strong tendency towards a "new" understanding of δόξα*. Δόξα as something relating to the divine world alone was not a theological doctrine when the authors composed their translation. But it was certainly about to become one.

8. Δόξα and "holy persons"

Δόξα is also used in the LXX as an attribute of "saints" (Ps. 149:9) or "the aged" (Prov. 20:29). So the LXX uses the term also as an attribute of people central to the religious life of Israel. Here again the theme of election may have influenced the LXX translators in their choice of terminology. We have already seen,⁸² that in Isa. 52:14 and 53:2 δόξα is in the LXX used to translate attributes of the Messiah.

9. "εἰς δόξαν"

One particular occurrence of δόξα in the LXX is particularly important for comparison with 1QH. In Jer. 13:11 God, according to the LXX, acts "for His glory" (καὶ εἰς δόξαν). The Hebrew term at this point translated by δόξα is לְתַפְאֶרֶת. In Isa. 60:21 and 61:3 this same use of δόξα in the LXX occurs as well.⁸³

VI. Conclusion

Δόξα can only be understood with regard to כְּבוֹד in the MT. The relationship of these two terms, and the understanding of δόξα can be outlined as follows:

(i) Δόξα is in the LXX the "*Greek equivalent*" of the Hebrew כְּבוֹד in the MT. But the understanding of δόξα in the LXX is *not identical* with the meanings of כְּבוֹד in the Hebrew Bible, for δόξα occurs in the LXX more often than כְּבוֹד in the MT.

⁸² See above p. 24.

⁸³ We will see below (p. 40) that especially in 1QH כְּבוֹד is used often in the sense of "for the sake of His [God's] glory" (usually expressed by: לְכַבֹּדוֹ). This might indicate that authors of Qumran texts developed not only ideas which we can find in the Hebrew Bible, but also expressions which occur in the LXX. Furthermore, 1QH developed an expression which occurs rarely in the LXX. As we will see, this is another method of Qumran authors in dealing with the Hebrew Bible and the Versions.

(ii) LXX appears to draw a distinction between the secular sense of כבוד and its use in connection with God. Only in the latter case does the LXX regularly translate כבוד with δόξα.

That indicates that δόξα, in contrast to כבוד, was understood as a term which is to be used primarily as an attribute of God.

(iii) In the LXX δόξα is used on occasions where כבוד does in the MT not occur. Here δόξα is used most of the time purely in relation to God. The occurrence of δόξα in this sense is characterised by the following aspects:

- Δόξα is most importantly and often the translation of Hebrew terms which are used as attributes of God, being understood primarily as part of His nature,⁸⁴ or as an expression of the "divine nature or essence"⁸⁵. The nature of δόξα is *divine*.

- Furthermore, δόξα functions on several occasions as a *visible divine element*,⁸⁶ as a *visible attribute of God*. The nature of JHWH, reflected in δόξα, is in the LXX understood as perceptible.

- Δόξα is used a few times as *something which is offered by humans to God*, because it is due to Him. Hence, δόξα is understood as something which belongs entirely to God.

Its origin, its place, and its reason is in God.

But δόξα may also be used in the LXX in a secular sense. This usage is not at all frequent or common, compared with the occurrence of δόξα purely related to God. We should probably best consider it as remains of the secular understanding of כבוד found in MT,⁸⁷ still regarded as appropriate by some of the translators in some circumstances. Whatever else this

⁸⁴ This "primary meaning of the LXX word, however, does not emerge except with reference to God. In this sense, of course, it may simply refer to "God's honour" or "power," like כבוד" (G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*..., 244).

⁸⁵ G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*..., 244.

⁸⁶ cf. also G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*..., 244.

⁸⁷ Therefore, the statement of G. v. Rad and G. Kittel that δόξα as "glory or honour ascribed to", "reputation" was only used less frequently in this secular sense, than כבוד in the Hebrew Bible (G. v. Rad/ G. Kittel, *δοκέω*..., 243) needs to be made more specific: δόξα is not only used "less frequently" in this sense, but the authors definitely tried to give δόξα the meaning of a divine or supernatural element.

shows, it suggests that the process of development whereby δόξα came to be used as a term restricted to God's being and world was not carried through to its logical conclusion, even though the evidence examined here points to a clearly marked drive on the part of the translators to forge powerful hints between δόξα and God.⁸⁸ Δόξα occurs in this sense under the following aspects:

- Δόξα is used in the LXX in connection with earthly Kings, but not with God as king.
- The use of δόξα as an attribute of human beings shows that it could be understood also in a secular sense.
- Very interesting is the use of δόξα as a translation term for elements of the temple. Here δόξα is linked with the house of God. But at the same time it gains *independence to a certain extent*, for it is the δόξα which fills the temple, not the δόξα τοῦ κυρίου. Δόξα is used here not understood in a secular sense, for it is part of the house of God, but it is also not used as purely divine attribute.⁸⁹

To summarise: Δόξα in the LXX may be understood as a (visible) attribute of God. It is very largely a divine phenomenon, the δόξα of God. Its nature is divine. The occurrence of δόξα in a secular sense is restricted to certain contexts, and is not determinative of the translator's overall understanding of the word.

⁸⁸ Another factor contributing to this state of affairs may be the lack of any *rigid* or hard theological doctrine directing the translators, of whom there were sometimes more than one for any given book: this could explain that in one writing of the canonical Hebrew Bible the tendency and the idea of the translators is clearer than in others. A few of the translators might have changed the understanding of כבוד more precisely than others.

⁸⁹ The significance of this usage will become apparent in comparison with the Shirot (see p. 120).

Part III: כבוד in 1QH (Thanksgiving Hymns)

1. כבוד related to God

1.1. כבוד as an attribute of God

In 1QH, as in the OT, the relationship of כבוד and God is one of the most important aspects of the understanding of כבוד.

כבוד occurs 51 times⁹⁰ in 1QH. 28 times it has an attached 2.sg.m. suffix referring to God.

20 times the attached suffix is כה (1,10.30; 4,28; 5,20; 6,10.12.14; 7,24; 8,5; 9,17.26;

10,10.11.12.20; 11,6.10; 12,15.22.30). 5 times in the Hymns 13 to 16 the suffix ך (13,11.13;

15,20; 16,3.9).⁹¹ 3 times כבוד is also used as an attribute of God, but with the 3.sg.m. suffix

ו (3,35; 15,17(18,8)). This usage demonstrates that כבוד is used in 1QH as attribute of God

very often⁹², and within the praise of a person who addresses God personally and directly.

1.2. כבוד and the kingship of God

כבוד does not occur in 1QH in connection with the terms מלך or מלכות. But כבוד is used once in connection with הדר (12:15), and a few times with כח and גבורה. These terms used as attributes of God (cf.: 9:17; 10:10; 11:8; 12:15; 13:11) might be used elsewhere in connection with the kingship of God, but in 1QH they are not used in that connotation in conjunction with כבוד.

⁹⁰ K.G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz*, 96f.

⁹¹ For further discussion of the phenomenon of the two different 2.sg.m. suffixes see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 108-110.

⁹² B. Kittel calls "glory" even one of the "standard" attributes (B. Kittel, *Hymns of Qumran*, 118).

1.3. כבוד independently used of God?

The next question we have to answer is whether indications exist that כבוד was understood in 1QH also as an "independent" phenomenon, not linked with God anymore. Because the names of God are grammatically not used in connection with כבוד, but the word takes only a suffix referring to God, one could argue that כבוד gains independence from God, as it does in the Shirot.⁹³

1.3.1. כבוד and praise

The function of כבוד within the praise of 1QH is important at this point. Because 1QH consists of thanksgiving *hymns* כבוד occurs always in the context of praise.⁹⁴ If the psalmist uttered his praise to כבוד, the term would gain importance and therefore "independence". But in 1QH כבוד is mainly used as an attribute of God. As such כבוד is grammatically often the object of verbs like ספר, or ידע etc.,⁹⁵ but not often the direct object of praise⁹⁶.

1.3.2. כבוד as reason or modus of deeds of God or humans

When כבוד is used in construct combinations (18 times) or with an adjective, the word in the construct state or the adjective has the preposition ל⁹⁷ (14 times: 1,10; 6,10; 7,15.24;

⁹³ See below p. 101.

⁹⁴ Despite the fact that the literary form of 1QH is controversial (B. Kittel, *Hymns of Qumran*, 2), one can say without fear of contradiction that 1QH contains songs uttered to God.

⁹⁵ 1,30; 6,1.2; 6,14; 9,17; 10,20; 11,6; 12,30; 13,11.13; 15,17.20.

⁹⁶ In 10:20 literally the "name of God" is the object of praise (באמתכה אהללה שמכה), whereas the psalmist "witnesses" His כבוד. See for further texts pp. 60f..

⁹⁷ Or other prepositions which have ל.

8,20.22; 9,17.25.26; 10,10⁹⁸.11⁹⁹.12; 11,10¹⁰⁰.27), or ב (6 times: 3,4.35¹⁰¹; 4,28¹⁰²; 6,14¹⁰³, 10,20; 18,8).

This is a significant aspect of the employment of כבוד in 1QH: it is very often used to define the circumstances of a certain event. God's deeds and His כבוד are for the psalmist reasons to praise Him. כבוד has, therefore a *secondary function beside God*.¹⁰⁴ Hence, this is another significant indication that כבוד is used as a term dependent on God.

1.3.3. כבוד used grammatically independently

Only 5 times כבוד occurs in the absolute state (7,15; 8,20.22; 9,25; 11,8). But here, the word is always introduced by ל. This means that, when כבוד is used as dominating term grammatically, it once again depends on another word or clause, signifying that כבוד is a dependent term whose sense is determined by other things.

In all these cases כבוד occurs in connection with terms denoting earthly things of daily life.¹⁰⁵ Hence, these might be construed as occasions when כבוד is used independently of God. But even here the psalmist always talks always about the כבוד of God. Most of all he uses the term in imagery describing his relationship with God: 7,15; 8,20.22. In 9,25 God caused glory for the psalmist, hence it is God's glory.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ לנגד
⁹⁹ לפני
¹⁰⁰ למען
¹⁰¹ באמת כבוד with adjective which has a preposition:
¹⁰² בעבור
¹⁰³ בפי
¹⁰⁴ In the case of ב, one can even say that most of the times it "preface[s] a divine attribute" (B. Kittel, *Hymns of Qumran*, 168).
¹⁰⁵ Exception: 11,8 (כול).
¹⁰⁶ ובז צרי לי לכליל כבוד

Furthermore, **כבוד** is only used twice as subject of verbs (5,20; 11,8, but cf. 12,29). This is another indication that **כבוד** was not generally understood as an "independent" phenomenon.

In five more texts **כבוד** is used as grammatically independent of God. But in three of these cases the text is damaged, hence a comment is impossible.¹⁰⁷ In 11,27 the context implies that the **כבוד** of God is meant.¹⁰⁸

In two more lines, however, **כבוד** is grammatically used as an attribute of man. But even here one cannot say that it is understood in a secular sense:

a) 15:17

(...) (16) ותרם (17) מבשר כבודו (...)

Here the grammatical use of **כבוד** is interesting: it occurs with the suffix of the 3.pers.sg.m. which refers grammatically to a human being.¹⁰⁹ But the setting in which the term occurs is highly eschatological.¹¹⁰ Predestination, election, and life in a eschatological future are conditions for receiving **כבוד**. Hence, the **כבוד** of God is meant, and the understanding is certainly not secular.¹¹¹

b) 17,15:

(...) ולהנחילם בכול כבוד אדם [ב]רוב ימים

¹⁰⁷ 12,29; 13,6; 16,16.

¹⁰⁸ ואמתכה תופיע לכבוד עד ושלוש עולום

¹⁰⁹ It is referring to צדיק in l.15.

¹¹⁰ "(14) (...) only you [God] have created (15) the righteous (...)"

For the context see M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 42 who stresses also the predestination and the consequently new relationship with God of the poet.

For the discussion of election and predestination see p. 35f..

¹¹¹ Hence, the translation of J. Maier, "Ehre" (J. Maier, *Qumran-Essener Bd.I*, 57) is in this context dubious. **כבוד** is here set in the context of predestination and of the description of gifts from God to man which include "the glory" (cf. M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 184; G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 203; E. Lohse, *Texte aus Qumran*, 167).

Here **כבוד** occurs grammatically as attribute of **אדם**. In the scholarly literature on this section of 1QH **אדם** is either interpreted as "Adam in the state before the fall" by referring to CD 3:20a and 1QS 4:23a,¹¹² or simply as man.¹¹³ But M. Mansoor states correctly that 1.15 refers somehow to the future,¹¹⁴ and **להנחילם** as inf. high. in the construct state strengthens this impression. Furthermore 1.14 refers to the members of the community. These are reasons enough to postulate that not Adam, but the member of the community as chosen people who get **כבוד** after their election, but before the full revelation of God of the end-time, are meant. Hence **כבוד** is not used here in a secular sense, but in a distinctive eschatological setting,¹¹⁵ and the **כבוד** is something granted by God to its recipients.

2. **כבוד** and the concept of the election

In the Hymns the term **כבוד** is used 14 times within the context of the theme of election. The *event* of election is not really mentioned in those verses where **כבוד** occurs in 1QH, or even in the surrounding context. The election, the fact that the psalmist was chosen by God, is rather *assumed* by the psalmist. Very often in these texts the author describes an event where God was acting towards the psalmist which is in character similar to an act of election. For this event the psalmist thanks God and praises Him. He does so by uttering the Hymns towards God. **כבוד** is a direct or indirect consequence of this "election event". **כבוד** becomes after the election accessible or available for the chosen human.¹¹⁶ The **כבוד** has,

¹¹² Cf. M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 35.

¹¹³ J. Maier, *Qumran-Essener Bd.I*, 50; M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 189.

¹¹⁴ M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 42f..

¹¹⁵ See for the eschatology p. 39.

¹¹⁶ See p. 37.

11:7f enumerates even more elements which become "recognisable" after election: **אמת פיכה** (11,7), **צדקה** of God (11,7), **כוח** of God (11,8) and **גבורה** of God (11,8).

therefore, its origins in God. God decides whether somebody will be elected and whether **כבוד** will be perceptible for the chosen human being.

The text where this conjunction between **כבוד** and the theme of election is most obvious is 10:20. The context of this verse is the psalmist's praise of God (especially 10:14-19): the psalmist tells us what God did for him by giving him knowledge (v.14). Then in line 20 he points out that he is able "to witness" the glory of God (**וּבְהִיטִי בְּכֹדֶכָּה**). The condition for witnessing **כבוד** is, therefore, election.

In addition, there are five other texts which show the connection of **כבוד** and the concept of election rather clearly. So in 6:12a the psalmist points out that the glory of God will come to all nations. And in v.12b-13a he adds that God's glory will come to "all men of your [God's] council" (**לְכֹל אֲנָשִׁי עֲצַתְכָּה**). In 6:14 **כבוד** occurs in the same kind of context.

In 11:8¹¹⁷ another aspect comes into focus: **כבוד** is still exclusively divine, although the chosen one is able to recognise it after election. In addition the concept of predestination comes into focus here (1.16f*)¹¹⁸. The psalmist points out that, although the righteous person is dust and mortal, he will have the **כבוד**, because he is chosen from his mother's womb.

The ability to experience **כבוד** is therefore *the predestined consequence of election*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ "(7)... and I know that truth is your mouth and in Your hand is righteousness and in Your thought is (8) all knowledge and in Your strength is all power and all glory, with You it is ...".

¹¹⁸ God will "(16)... raise (17) his [the righteous'] glory from (out of) the flesh...".

¹¹⁹ For its eschatological understanding and a precise definition of the term "experience" see below pp. 37 and 39.

A few more lines demonstrate the same aspect, although **כבוד** is not literally mentioned in conjunction with the concept: 7:15; 9:25; 9:26; 11:6; (11:27; 12:15; 15:20).

3. כבוד as perceptible phenomenon?

3.1. Occurrence

The manner in which the chosen person can experience כבוד is also significant. The understanding of the relation of כבוד to God comes into focus here very much.

Within the praise of the first Hymn the psalmist talks (1:30) about the כבוד of God which can be known (להודיע) by all humans. The psalmist tells in the preceding verses that it is the will of God that men should be able to know His glory. And in 6:12a the psalmist points out that "all people will know (ידעו) Your truth (אמתכה) and all nations Your glory". Throughout this line the psalmist expresses his emphatic praise. God is so great that all people will know His glory¹²⁰. In 13:13 as well the כבוד of God is the object of the verb ידע. The psalmist points out that through His divine deeds God makes known His glory everywhere¹²¹. Again this verse is part of the praise uttered to God. In exactly the same manner כבוד is used in 15:20. In contrast to 13:13 the psalmist mentions here literally the deeds of God (מעשיו). These deeds will be the reason why all chosen ones "will know" the glory of God (לדעת [כול] את כבודך).

The means by which elected humans can approach the כבוד is made clear in these lines: כבוד seems to be understood as a phenomenon which can be approached by humans only in an "intellectual" way. So the experience of כבוד by elected humans seems to be understood as a process involving the human mind, for in most of the cases where the "coming together" of כבוד and man is spoken of it, it is described with verbs of intellectual process, such as "to

¹²⁰ Glory is the most positive quality of God. כבוד expresses the psalmist's esteem, his respect, his love towards God.

¹²¹ 13:13: "... and by the mysteries of your insight you have allotted to make known Your glory...".

know" (ידע). The experience of כבוד for the elect is, therefore, only possible *through interior understanding or belief*.

Another aspect of כבוד in IQH comes here into focus: in IQH כבוד is always something which comes from God. God gives His כבוד to the humans through creation and election. The individual's experience of כבוד through interior perception or belief is, therefore, spoken of by the psalmist as something received from outside himself.

But one further text of some particular interest remains for discussion. In 10:20, כבוד occurs as object of the verb נבט ("to look")¹²²:

(20) (...) ובהביטי בכבודכה אספרה (21) נפלאותיכה (...)

This is the first and only time that the psalmist seems to imply that the כבוד of God can be *physically* experienced, for נבט is a verb of sensual perception. This sentiment, when set alongside the general use and understanding of כבוד displayed in IQH, appears exceptional. Indeed, it seems to have more in common with understanding of כבוד found in the Shirot, where we encounter כבוד as a supernatural or heavenly reality which can come close to human beings because God so wills it. 10:20 is therefore an exception.

3.2. Summary

For chosen people the כבוד (of God) which was received from God is (according to IQH) only perceptible on the level of interior understanding or belief (we can find only one exception). כבוד is generally not understood as something physically perceptible.

¹²² C. Koehler/W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, v. II, ע-ט (E.J. Brill: Leiden - New York - Köln, 1995), 661.

4. Eschatology

כבוד is also linked with the eschatological concepts of IQH. In fact the conjunction of **כבוד** and election and the idea of its perceptibility reflect an eschatological concept. Accordingly, the psalmist can "experience" **כבוד** after election, which is the beginning of the time "Zwischen den Zeiten". Therefore, the psalmist can not experience **כבוד** in full yet, as we have seen. His experience through imagination is incomplete. Election is not the same thing as the complete revelation of God, which will only occur at the end of this time: the psalmist is simply a chosen person *waiting* for that time, when he will be able to experience the **כבוד** of God in full.¹²³

12:22 demonstrates the link between of **כבוד** and eschatology:

(...) ובקץ כבודכה יגילו ולפי []

"(...) and in the end of Your [God's] glory they rejoice [...]"¹²⁴.

The "end of the glory" can only be understood as the end of the **כבוד** as the psalmist knows it: in terms of imagination and hope only. The revelation will bring the end or goal to which that hope points, and give the people the ability to experience the **כבוד** of God.¹²⁵

5. **כבוד** and creation

5.1. In general

Many times in IQH **כבוד** is used in connection with the concept of creation. In 10:10f (for example) the author asks the rhetorical question: "(10) (...) and who (11) among all Your

¹²³ The difference from the OT concept is marked: there, **כבוד** is used as an element of the revelation of God: the **כבוד** of God comes in revelation to the earth. In IQH, **כבוד** is already in the world, but only for the chosen ones; and is not yet completely revealed.

¹²⁴ The translation is difficult. Most of the translators translate with "Zeit" or "time" (E. Lohse, *Texte aus Qumran*, 159; J. Maier, *Qumran-Essener Bd.I*, 104; G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 198) or with "period" (M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 175). According to W. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 719, קץ means "the end". The latter meaning fits better into the context. A time period implies that the **כבוד** is not yet present. But we have seen that after the election the chosen ones are able to recognise the **כבוד** in a certain and reduced way. Therefore, **כבוד** is already present for them. According to its context, 12:22 is definitely eschatological: at "the end of the times" (revelation) the end of the **כבוד** will come as well. Hence, the term קץ should be translated as "end".

¹²⁵ In 13:11 as well the term **כבוד** might be used in an eschatological context. Especially in 13:12 the author talks about the creation of new and eternal things and refers, therefore, to something which is going to come.

great wondrous works (מעשי) can retain any strength to stand in the presence of Your glory?". The creation reflects the glory of its creator. כבוד is here the divine attribute reflecting the greatness of God in comparison with His creation. And because the creator has כבוד, the creation has it also to a certain extent. The creation reflects the כבוד of its creator. Therefore, the כבוד which the psalmist can already "see" is reason for him to praise and thank God.

5.2. כבוד in the phrase "for the sake of His glory"

Used in this phrase, the connection of כבוד and creation comes to light clearly. כבוד occurs 9 times in this sense.¹²⁶ Three times the psalmist thanks God and praises Him for everything that God has done and made. And according to the psalmist, whatever God has done reflects God's glory. In all three lines the term כבוד occurs along with creation language:

1:10: (...) ואתה נטיתה שמים (10) לכבודכה¹²⁷

10:12: (...) רק כבודכה עשיתה כול אלה¹²⁸

18:22: להפליא ובמחשבתכה להגביר ולהכין כול לכבודכה¹²⁹

In three further texts the psalmist gives more specific reasons why he is thanking God. So in 6:10 he points out that "(...) for Your glory (לכבודכה) and for Your sake You have acted to magnify the law and the truth (...)". In 7:24 God established "the light"¹³⁰ "for His glory" (לכבודכה). And in 11:10 the psalmist thanks God that He (God) "cleansed mankind from the sin" for the sake of His glory (למען כבודכה).

¹²⁶ In 13:2 the text is damaged to an extent which makes any comment on the understanding of כבוד impossible.

¹²⁷ "(...) (9) you have stretched out the heavens (10) for your glory(...)".

¹²⁸ "(...) only according to your glory you have done all these things."

¹²⁹ "(...) but it is your plan to make everything big and to establish everything for your glory."

¹³⁰ אור

In 4:28 God helped the psalmist "for the sake of His glory" (בעבור כבוד), and that is the reason why the glory offered by the psalmist to God is now due to God. In 8:5 the motive occurs within the concept of creation: whatever God created reflects His glory.¹³¹

The phrases "for the sake of His glory" or "for His glory" are used by the author to indicate that everything what God does (help for the psalmist or creation) is a reason for the psalmist to thank God and to praise God. Because of God's deeds, the כבוד is due to God. כבוד belongs entirely to God.¹³²

6. כבוד and its ability to be declared

Three times in 1QH (11:6; 12:30; 13:11¹³³) the author of the Hymns points out that the כבוד of God is being declared. The Hebrew term which the author uses is always ספר. So in 11:6 the psalmist says that he "(...) will tell the children of men about Your [God's] glory, (...)". After the election the declaration of the glory of God to everybody is another form of praise for the psalmist. In 12:30 the psalmist points out that there is nothing else to do for mortals made out of dust but "(...) to declare all Your [God's] glory and to stand in the face of Your anger" (1.30*).

The election is here again a *conditio, sine qua non*. The usage of כבוד in this phrase demonstrates again the "intellectual" way in which the chosen ones deal with כבוד. Again we can presuppose that the elected person "knows" the כבוד. Furthermore כבוד used in this connection is the expression of effusive praise of the psalmist uttered to God. Because he is elected he wants to tell the world of that he knows now: the כבוד of God.

¹³¹ Used here within the imaginary of the trees in poem 8.

¹³² כבוד occurs here always with a suffix referring to God.

¹³³ Here the subject of the verb ספר is not certain. It might have been mentioned at the beginning of the Hymn which is damaged.

7. כבוד and the "eternity"

6 times כבוד is used in 1QH in conjunction with the theme or idea of eternity. The intensity of the link between the term and the theme varies. In three lines כבוד occurs in a construct combination with the term עולם. So in 3:4 the word combination בכבוד עולם occurs. The context of this word combination is not certain, because the line is damaged:

3:4: [] לכה בכבוד עולם עם כול []

כבוד is also linked with eternity in 11:27. There it occurs in conjunction with the term עד (לכבוד עד):

11:26f*: (...) (26)¹³⁴ [] ואמתכה תופיע (27) לכבוד עד ושלוש עולום (...):

In this text the statement of the author is clear enough: כבוד is thought of as a part of eternity (כבוד is nomen regens), and therefore it is eternal itself.¹³⁵ כבוד is used in the same sense in 13:6 (כבוד עולם): glory is part of eternity.¹³⁶

In addition, a few lines are found in 1QH where the term כבוד does not occur in combination with עולם or עד, but where these terms occur together in one single line. Interesting at this point is 12:15. The line is damaged, but the preserved word combinations are significant: they are כבודכה and לאור עולם. The logical link between the two word combinations is not clear, because of the missing context. Nevertheless, the "light" (אור) which is linked with the כבוד (as we will see below) belongs to eternity as well. Hence the אור and

¹³⁴ "(26) (...) and Your truth shines (27) to the glory of eternity and eternal peace (...)".

¹³⁵ For the interesting phrase עד שמכה לעולמי (25) בפי כולם יהולל (24) see below pp. 69ff..

¹³⁶ In 13:6 the text is damaged. No comments on the context can be made.

the **כבוד** are understood as characteristic elements of eternity. In 8:20 and 12:29 the links between **כבוד** and **עד** respectively **עולם** are not certain, because the lines are damaged.

Significantly, neither **כבוד** nor **עלם/ עד** is grammatically determined as God's glory or eternity. But the 'place' the psalmist is talking about, eternity, is understood as a place close to God. The association of **כבוד** and eternity seems to reflect the desire of the psalmist to reach the time after revelation, when he will be able to experience **כבוד** in full. *The modus of the experience of כבוד through a chosen person influences also the understanding of the place of eternity: it is the sphere of God, understood as a metaphysical place, not as the heavenly world is commonly depicted.*

8. **כבוד**, the darkness and the light

In 12:15, as we have seen above, **כבוד** occurs in conjunction with "light". **כבוד** is in 1QH 4 times used in the context of the theme of darkness and light which is an important concept in writings from Qumran.¹³⁷

In 9:26 the conjunction between **כבוד** and light becomes most apparent, since for the chosen one **כבוד** is the light:

9:26f:

(26) (...) [ובכבודכה הופיע אורי כי מאור מחושך

(27) האירותה לני (...) ¹³⁸

¹³⁷ See especially p. 103f.; and all secondary sources on "darkness/light".

¹³⁸ "[...] and by Your glory my light (**אור**) shines forth, for a light out of darkness (27) You lighted up for m[e ...] (...)"

The darkness is mentioned in the second part of this phrase: the psalmist was in darkness until God led him to the light (had chosen him). There is certainly a close affinity here between **כבוד** and **אור**. With election light and glory come to the chosen one. **כבוד**, however, is understood as a *phenomenon of light*.

כבוד and **אור** are used in the same manner in 12:15. After election the chosen one has glory and light.

Because the psalmist has been chosen according to 7:23,¹³⁹ the psalmist shines forth now in the light which God made for His glory.¹⁴⁰ In 7:23f the consequence of his election is the light as well, which is now an attribute of the chosen one. This light was given by God "for His glory". This line demonstrates that **אור** could be understood in almost the same way as **כבוד**, in such a way that **כבוד** might be interpreted as a "light phenomenon".

Summarising, one can argue that **כבוד** and **אור** come to humans only after their election by God. The manner in which the two phenomena can be received from God by the chosen ones differs: **אור** seems to be understood as an element which can be experienced physically. As such **אור** can be received directly by the chosen person. With **כבוד** the situation is different. **כבוד** comes from God and reaches the believer; but it can only be experienced through interior perception.¹⁴¹

The connection of **כבוד** with **אור** does not, therefore, indicate that **כבוד** was necessarily understood as a visible phenomenon.¹⁴² But the conjunction demonstrates that the chosen person understood **כבוד** in his *imagination or belief* as a phenomenon of light.

139

"(23) (...) You helped my soul and raised my horn (24) on high (...)".

140

"(24) (...) and I have shone forth with a sevenfold light which You have established for Your glory.".

141

See above pp. 37f.

142

As it will do in the Shiroi (see pp. 102f, 111, 113f.).

9. כבוד and its quality

In 1QH the author gives three descriptions of "glory" which are almost definitions. In each of these cases כבוד is the כבוד of God. In 5:20 the psalmist points out within a pure praise uttered towards God that the glory of God is "without measure":

(20) (...) וכבודכה (21) לאין מדה (...)

In 9:17 the psalmist states within a comparison of humans and God, that the glory of God "can not be investigated":

(...) ולכבודכה אין חקר

That means that the author of the texts understood the כבוד as normally inaccessible for the humans. And in 10:10 the psalmist praises God again saying that "none can be compared" to God in power and nothing can be compared to His glory:

ואין עמכה בכוח ואין לנגד ככבודכה (...)

In other words: the כבוד is understood as a divine element which is only in a certain way accessible for the elect. The writer is able to talk about it, to tell about it, to know it, and to praise it, as we have seen above. People deal with כבוד in imagination; and one cannot say that in this sense כבוד is physically perceptible to them.

But the three lines above tell us also that כבוד is understood as something great and powerful ("no measure"; "can not be compared with anything"). Each of the three verses occurs in a setting of the description of the power of God. Linguistically this is indicated by two terms denoting power which are in the OT often used in that context: גבורתכה in 5:20¹⁴³; גבורתכה and כח in 9:17; and כח in 10:10. כבוד is used in almost the same manner as

¹⁴³ Here the psalmist points out that the "power of God" cannot be investigated using exactly the same phrase as in 9:17 for כבוד.

they are. **כבוד** thus seems to be understood here as an expression of the power of God. It is not identical with the power of God, but it is an attribute of God, like His power.¹⁴⁴

10. **כבוד** and its attributes

Finally two more lines seem to ascribe attributes to **כבוד** itself. 3:35 mentions the truth of God's glory: **אמת כבודו**. The truth of God is strongly linked with the glory of God. Both are certainly elements which belong to the sphere of God.

In 6:14 the psalmist mentions people who will "answer the mouth of Your [God's] glory" (**בפי כבודכה**). **כבוד** is here strongly linked with God, although it has grammatically its own attribute.

Also in 12:15 **כבוד** has an attribute. There the psalmist mentions the "splendour of Your [God's] glory" (**הדר כבודכה**) which is now, after his election, recognisable by the chosen psalmist.

11. Conclusion

The above investigation offers a clear picture of the understanding of **כבוד** in 1QH, which can be summarised in 7 points:

- (i) The understanding of **כבוד** as "glory of God" is the basic sense of the word in 1QH.¹⁴⁴ **כבוד** belongs always to God. It is part of the nature of God. It is an attribute of God.
- (ii) But **כבוד** is by no means a divine element in the sense of a "independent" phenomenon. It never loses its connection to God.

¹⁴⁴ Also in 11:8 **כבוד** is understood as part of "the strength of God": "(...) in Your strength is all Your power and all your glory (...)" ((...) **ובכוחה כול גבורה וכול כבוד** (...)). **כבוד** is used here in exactly the same way as **כח**. Both are understood as attributes of God, even as a part of His nature.

¹⁴⁵ To give **כבוד**, therefore a "traditional meaning" ("abundance", "honor", "glory") which is extended in 1QH ("victory", "power", "might"), as M.Mansoor (M.Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 21) suggests, does not reflect the usage and understanding of **כבוד** in 1QH at all. The psalmist talks most of all of "the glory of God" in the sense I am about to out line in this paragraph. And simply to point out that "the richness of kabod in the OT Psalms continues in the Hodayoth" (M.Weinfeld, **כבוד**, 37) is not really satisfying as a description of the meaning of **כבוד** in 1QH.

(iii) **כבוד** is used in these Hymns which contain mainly thanksgiving and praise uttered to God. The function of **כבוד** in that context is always subordinate to God. God is the object of praise; **כבוד** is the reason for it.

(iv) The sense of **כבוד** is embedded in eschatology. In the time before the election of individual people, contact with **כבוד** is not possible. After election and before full, final revelation of God at the end time, the chosen ones are able to know **כבוד** in a certain way. After the revelation, experience of the **כבוד** of God in full may be expected.

(v) Therefore, the condition for humans to experience the **כבוד** of God is their predestined election. Only a person who is chosen by God can "experience" **כבוד**. The knowledge of the **כבוד** of God depends, therefore, entirely on the will of God. The humans can only *receive* **כבוד** as a gift.

(vi) **כבוד** can only be experienced on the level of interior understanding or belief. It can not be physically experienced.

(vii) IQH qualifies **כבוד** as follows: **כבוד** is eternal; **כבוד** is a phenomenon of light, and **כבוד** is a powerful element which is part of the nature of God.

Part IV: **כבוד** in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice

I. Introduction

We now consider the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice (Shirot). **כבוד** in this "cycle of 13 Songs"¹⁴⁶ is fascinating, because it is used and understood in a quite distinct way. Aspects which we have already discovered in the OT have been modified or are missing entirely.

¹⁴⁶

A. M. Schwemer, *Gott als König*, 47 [translation of author].

New aspects of understanding have been added in the Shirot. The understanding of כבוד in the Shirot differs from the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, and even 1QH.

In comparison with the OT and other Qumran material, the question of the authorship of the Shirot is important. An answer to this question will help to clarify the relationship between the writings before dealing with differences in detail. The opinions in the scholarly literature are contradictory. I think that at this stage of knowledge of the Shirot a final conclusion is not possible, but following our investigation of the understanding of כבוד and related terms, a preliminary theory can be outlined. One can see that the Shirot show as many similarities with 1QH as differences. At some points the Shirot seem to follow 1QH. On other occasions we will see that 1QH stays much closer to OT usages of certain terms than the Shirot do. It might, therefore, be difficult to postulate a pure Qumran authorship of these poems, as C. Newsom did.¹⁴⁷ But at the same time, one can not deny that the Shirot share similarities with 1QH and, in particular, they deal with the OT material in a manner which is typical for Qumran writings. Hence, the Shirot do not seem to be composed entirely independent of Qumran, as C. Newsom advocated later.¹⁴⁸ The most satisfactory way of defining the authorship of the Shirot is to say that the present form of the Shirot was produced in Qumran, but the "basic form of these songs reflects an older priestly tradition".¹⁴⁹

Another element in the investigation of the understanding of כבוד in the Shirot is the character of the text of the Shirot itself. The setting of כבוד is essential for its understanding. The Shirot is a liturgical text which was composed to be used in cultic celebrations.¹⁵⁰ As such, the Shirot is mainly a description of the heavenly priesthood and especially of the praise to God which takes place in the heavenly world.¹⁵¹ It contains the description of the

¹⁴⁷ C. Newsom, *Songs*, 4.
¹⁴⁸ C. Newsom, 'Sexually Explicit', 185.
¹⁴⁹ D.K. Falk, *Prayers*, 130.
¹⁵⁰ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 276.
¹⁵¹ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 290, 294.

praise of the heavenly beings in the heavenly world. The earthly worshippers are singing the Songs in unison with the heavenly beings,¹⁵² and are joining in this way the heavenly praise.¹⁵³ Hence the Shirot has a cultic function,¹⁵⁴ as we will see on many occasions. It is a liturgical text.¹⁵⁵ The author of the Shirot tries to involve the earthly worshippers, who are using the Shirot for a cultic event, in the praise of the heavenly beings. That means that "those who recite it [the Songs] enjoying a special status within the heavenly entourage of the servants of God"¹⁵⁶. The earthly worshippers are enabled to join the praise, because they are purified and honoured.¹⁵⁷

כבוד, therefore, has its place in the description of the heavenly world, the world of lively praise and worship. But it has also to be seen as something which is in a very particular way linked with the earthly worshippers.

It is, therefore, not really surprising that particular uses of כבוד are related in specific ways to the structure of the Songs. As we will see later, the usage of כבוד reflects in particular the structure of the Shirot which was developed by C. Newsom.¹⁵⁸ That structure presents itself as follows:

1. Part 1: Song 1

This Song gives an introduction: the "heavenly world" and God's rule in this world is introduced

2. Part 2: Songs 2-7a

The author describes the events, especially the praise, in the heavenly world.

¹⁵² B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 278.

¹⁵³ A. M. Schwemer, *Gott als König*, 48, 76.

¹⁵⁴ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 276; A. M. Schwemer, *Gott als König*, 47 calls the Shirot " liturgische Ordnung für die 'Opfer'-Gottesdienste der Sabbate des ersten Vierteljahres".

¹⁵⁵ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 280.

J. Strugnell, *The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran - 4Q Serek shirot 'Olat Hassabbat, Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 7 (1960), 318-45, 320.

¹⁵⁶ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 276.

¹⁵⁷ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 288.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. C. Newsom, *Songs*, 5-21, esp. p. 16. A different structure is offered by B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 295.

3. Part 3: Songs 7b-12

The heavenly world is described in detail.

4. Part 4: Song 13

Song 13 contains a conclusion of the whole text.

Following the structure of the text, one discovers that **כבוד** is differently used in the different parts of the text. In Song 1 the author introduces not only the heavenly world and the rule of God in this world, but at the same time he introduces his understanding of **כבוד**. He gives **כבוד** its basic sense which the word will keep throughout the text of the Shirot. In the following parts the author develops this sense by emphasising different aspects of **כבוד**, and by adding new elements to his understanding of it. Song 7 has within the entire text of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice an important function. According to the content Song 7 seems to be the climax of the entire text.¹⁵⁹ C. Newsom calls this "the centrality"¹⁶⁰ of Song 7. Hence, it is most interesting that the usage of **כבוד** changes, precisely in the middle of the Song 7. This might also be an indication that the word **כבוד** is an important term in the Shirot. Consequently, this investigation follows the structure of the Shirot.¹⁶¹

II. **כבוד** in Song 1 (Part 1)

כבוד occurs 6 times in this Song, and is always understood as a word restricted to the description of a supernatural reality. **כבוד** is always connected with God. So it is used in the word combination **כבוד המלך** in 4Q400 1 ii 8¹⁶².

¹⁵⁹ A.M. Schwemer, *Gott als König*, 77.

¹⁶⁰ C. Newsom, *Songs*, 13.

¹⁶¹ Some examinations of important related terms of **כבוד** including a comparison with the OT and 1QH will already be included in this investigation.

¹⁶² For further details on this usage see pp. 73ff..

כבוד is also used as an attribute of qualities of God. In 4Q400 1 i 5/6 the author mentions the "judgements of His glory" (**משפטי כבודו**), in 4Q400 1 i 6 "the insight of His [God's] glory" (**בינות כבודו**)¹⁶³. In 4Q400 1 i 9 occurs **כבודו**. Although the context is missing, the suffix indicates that **כבוד** was again understood as an attribute of a quality of God.

כבוד is also used in this Song as an attribute of purely heavenly elements which exist in the heavenly world: **כבודו בדביר** (4Q400 1 i 4) and **אלים¹⁶⁴ כבודו** (4Q400 1 ii 9)¹⁶⁵.

In this introduction to the Songs, the author introduces, by describing the heavenly world and the rule of God in that world, his understanding of **כבוד** as well. The most important aspect of this is the connection of **כבוד** with God. This connection will prove to be, throughout the investigation of the understanding of **כבוד** in the Shirot, the striking point.

כבוד in Part 1 of the Shirot, then, is understood as part of the nature of God without being identical with Him. It is restricted to the heavenly world of praise and worship.

III. **כבוד** in Song 2-7a (Part 2)

In Part 2 (Songs 2-7a) of the Shirot, **כבוד** keeps the sense which we have discovered above.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the precise emphasis in its use develops subtly.

¹⁶³ At this point it is interesting that, according to C. Newsom, *Songs*, 99, "the phrase **עם בינות כבודו** is almost certainly to be taken as a positive counterpart to the phrase **לא בינות לעם** (1QH ii 19) (...), both modelled on Isa. 26:11, **כי לא עם בינות הוא**".

¹⁶⁴ Possibly **אלוהים**.

¹⁶⁵ Whether the word **כבוד** was part of a word combination at the beginning of l. 8 cannot be stated, because the end of l. 8 is damaged. For **כבוד אלים** see also **קדושים בסוד** in 1QH 4,25.

¹⁶⁶ See p. 50.

1. כבוד related to God

Investigating the understanding of כבוד in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, 1QH, and the Shirot we have shown that the decisive question is in what way כבוד is related to God. Is כבוד used in the different texts as a substitute for God, as an attribute of God, or independently of God? This question is also vital in Part 2 of the Shirot.

1.1. כבוד as attribute of God

Many times in this part of the Songs כבוד occurs in direct connection with God: 4Q400 2 1,¹⁶⁷ 4Q400 2 3, 4Q400 2 5; 4Q401 14 i 7; MasShirShabb i 10, MasShirShabb ii 12, MasShirShabb ii 13; MasShirShabb ii 20; 4Q403 1 i 3; 4Q403 1 i 4, 4Q403 1 i 8, 4Q403 1 i 25, MasShirShabb ii 24 // 4Q403 1 i 10; 4Q403 1 i 28/29; 4Q403 1 i 31, 4Q403 1 i 33 // 4Q405 4-5 1; 4Q403 1 i 36 // 4Q405 4-5 4; 4Q403 1 i 38). The connection between כבוד and God is grammatically usually indicated through an attached 3. sg. m. suffix to כבוד referring to God (כבודו). Hence, grammatically, כבוד is an attribute of God, but certainly not a substitute for the divine Name.

In a few lines this question of the precise sense of כבוד comes up very significantly. In MasShirShabb ii 13 and 4Q403 i 4¹⁶⁸ כבוד occurs literally in connection with a term denoting "God": אל כבוד. Hence, כבוד is here not understood as substitute for God. Another very interesting line is 4Q403 1 i 33 where the phrase אלוהות כבוד¹⁶⁹ occurs as object of the

¹⁶⁷ In the text להלל כבודכה פלא the word פלא has to be rendered adverbially (see C. Nesom, *Songs*, 112). The direct object of the infinitive להלל is, therefore, only the glory of God.

¹⁶⁸ For the textual problem see C. Newsom, *Songs*, 189

¹⁶⁹ It can be doubted very much that this phrase has to be translated as "His glorious royalty" (A.M. Schwermer, *Gott als König*, 90), for the emphasis lies obviously on כבוד.

imperative **וְרֹמְמוֹ**¹⁷⁰. Here again **כְּבוֹד** is used as attribute of God. This line gives us a clearer idea how **כְּבוֹד** was understood in the Shirot. **כְּבוֹד** has a "divine" denotation in the sense that it is understood as something which is as closely as possible related to God without being identical with Him ("divine element"). But **כְּבוֹד** occurs never with the divine name or its substitutes. Grammatically it gains, therefore, a little independence of God, but it is still understood as an attribute of God.

1.2. **כְּבוֹד** and the forms of address for God

Since the meaning of **כְּבוֹד** depends so much on its relationship with God, an investigation of the relationship of **כְּבוֹד** and the forms of address for God will be decisive for the understanding of **כְּבוֹד**. How is **כְּבוֹד** linked with the forms of address for God in the different writings? Is **כְּבוֹד** involved in the understanding of the divine name?¹⁷¹ How did the ancient versions, LXX, and the Shirot understand and use the divine name and other forms of address?

Hence we will examine the connection of **כְּבוֹד** with the term **שֵׁם**, which is linked quite often in the OT with God and used as an object of human praise.

1.2.1. **כְּבוֹד** and **שֵׁם** in the OT

Because this combination of words occurs in the OT, some attempt must be made to discover the meaning of **כְּבוֹד** within that combination. At the same time, a study of how the ancient versions (especially LXX and Vulgate) translated these words may throw light on the way

¹⁷⁰ See for this p. 106.

¹⁷¹ We have already seen above that **δόξα** is *not* used in the LXX Pentateuch as substitute for the divine name (see pp. 18f.).

they were understood in antiquity, and help to elucidate their use by the authors of 1QH and the Shirot.

a) Isa. 43:7

BHS: כל הנקרא¹⁷² בשמי ולכבודי בראתיו

LXX: ..., (7) πάντας ὅσοι ἐπικέκληται τῷ ὀνόματί μου. ἐν γὰρ τῇ δόξῃ μου κατεσ-
κεύασα αὐτὸν καὶ ...

BSL: Et omnem, qui invocat nomen meum, in gloriam meam creavi eum, ...

In Isa. 43,7 כבוד and שם do not occur grammatically in one word combination. But the understanding of both words is very important and gives an insight into the relationship between OT and the versions.

The apparatus of BHS notes one obvious difficulty: the relationship between כל and the suffix of ברא. If כל denotes "all", the suffix of the 3. pers. sg. doesn't make sense. One solution is to translate כל as "everybody" to give the term a singular meaning. LXX solved this problem in a special way. It understands כל הנקרא בשמי as the end of v.6. כל are then all the sons and daughters of that verse. After 7aα LXX puts a full stop. At the same time LXX separates the two verbs of 7a. Thus the relationship of the part. pass. and the finite verb no longer presents a problem. But the LXX destroys the union (chiasmus, s. below) between verse 7aα and 7aβ. δόξα and ὄνομα become separate, although in the BHS they are strongly connected (waw copulativum and chiasmus). On the other hand the meaning is very close to

¹⁷² כל הנקרא is part. nif. pass.. In this case the participle occurs in the nifal tolerativum in the sense of "to allow something to happen to oneself, generally with a notion of effective action" (P. Joüon/ T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew I*, 150). Hence, נקרא בשם denotes "nach dem Namen jemandes genannt werden, d.h. seiner Familie, seinem Volk beigezählt werden Jer 43,7; 48,1" (W. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 724). Therefore the translation of the phrase is: "everybody who was called by His name".

the text of the BHS (not as in the BSL, s. below). Calling and creating are done by God. So $\delta\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha$ and $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ are both (as in the BHS) signs of the quality of the relationship between God and His children. Both belong to God and are used as signs for the close relationship of creator and creature as well as as indications of the power of God.

Also the LXX added $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\iota$ and has for the suffix כ the word $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. This means that here, as in the BSL, the כבוד is the means by which the creation was carried out by God. But לכבודי in the BHS denotes "for my glory" or "for the sake of my glory". Here the usage and understanding of כבוד was changed in the LXX: from the reason for what happens to the simple description of the event.

The BSL as well changes the sense. So כל denotes in the BHS "all", whereas "omnem" is acc. sg. m. (everybody); this means that BSL put the emphasis on the person, the individual (only the person who called God's name was created in glory). So, both LXX and BSL tried to solve this ambiguity of the HHS (כל and ברא with the suffix of the 3. sg. m.). Another change was made in the BSL: הנקרא is part. nif. pass., whereas "invocat" is 3. sg. present tense; BSL changed here the meaning. It is not God anymore who called someone, but it is the human being now who calls God's name!

With regard to שמי which stands in the BHS with the preposition ב meaning "in my name"¹⁷³, the BSL uses "nomen meum" as acc. object. This change brings the action of the call into another light. The "name" is not anymore the element which gives the call the authority, but it is now according to the BSL the *object of the call*.

¹⁷³ Although ב is in the BHS often used to introduce the object after *verba dicendi* (E. Kautzsch/ A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 374; C. Kochler/ W. Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*. v.I, 105), it is in this case rather understood in the sense of "in" (i.e. "with", possibly "on behalf of"), because of the parallelism with בראיתו לכבודי , and the fact that כל is already and definitely the object.

Concerning the structure of the sentence, BSL changes important aspects. MT offers a chias-

mus : כל הנקרא בשמי

ולכבודי בראתיו

Both of these clauses have therefore the same importance.¹⁷⁴ Therefore the emphasis lies on the two words שם and כבוד. BSL breaks this chiasmus to stress something else: the connection between כבוד and שם is destroyed, because in BSL man has to call the שם of God, and God *therefore* creates the man! This causal connection is absolutely missing in the BHS. In BHS God is the active person and the emphasis lies on the relationship between God and *all of His children*: He called all of them by His name and He created them all *for His glory*. This sentence is one huge assertion of the belief that God's children belong entirely to God. BSL proclaims a condition and destroys therefore the union of שם and כבוד.

While שם and כבוד in BHS signify God as the responsible father of His children, BSL draws a distinction and separates them: "glory" is an attribute of God, it is a *divine* attribute which is connected with the act of creation, rather the sign of power than of warmth and responsibility of God. In the BSL the meaning of the שם of God changed: now the call of "God's name" is described as condition of the gift of the close relationship of creator and creature. Only those men who call Him have been created "for His glory" and stand therefore in this special relationship.

In comparison, the meaning of "name" and "glory" in the LXX is not identical, but close to BHS. BSL keeps the meaning of the "glory", but changes the usages of "the name" of God entirely.

¹⁷⁴ A slight emphasis on the second half of the chiasmus may be detected, for הנקרא in the first half is an participle, hence the subject, God, is not named. But on the other Hand a participle passive "indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external actions" (E. Kautsch/ A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 356). Hence this difference seems to be caused rather by the "poetical freedom" of the author, than by the intention to emphasise כבוד more than שם.

b) Isa. 59:19

BHS: ...וייראו ממערב את־שם יהוה וממזרח־שמש את־כבודו. (19a)

LXX: (19a) καὶ φοβηθήσονται οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν
ἡλίου τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἔνδοξον...

BSL: Et timebunt qui ab occidente, nomen Domini: et qui ab ortu solis, gloriam eius:...

In this verse the BSL follows BHS. But the LXX makes a major change concerning כבוד and שם in v.19aβ: LXX added τὸ ὄνομα and therefore changed the use of כבוד into an adjective of τὸ ὄνομα (ἔνδοξον, not ἡ δόξα). This means that LXX created a parallelism between the "name of JHWH" and the "name of the glory"¹⁷⁵. In BHS the people fear directly the glory of God; but the writer of LXX points out that they fear the "glorious name", which presents the "glorious name" as an "independent" phenomenon. Even more, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἔνδοξον is used parallel to τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. Hence, in the Greek text, ἔνδοξος seems almost to be used the same way as κύριος. But as translation ἔνδοξος is not used as a substitute for the Tetragram. The "glorious name" is, therefore, understood as a very important phenomenon, and *almost identical* with the "name of JHWH" itself.

c) Ps. 66:2 (65:2)

BHS: זמרו כבוד־שמו שימו כבוד (v.2)

LXX: ψάλατε δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, δότε δόξαν ἀινέσει αὐτοῦ.

BSL: Psalmum dicite nomini eius: date gloriam laudi eius.

¹⁷⁵ ὄνομα here even without possessive pronoun referring to JHWH!

The usage of כבוד and שם in the BHS is very interesting: as construct combination and attribute of God they seem to be used as substitutes for God himself. The praise of man is uttered to כבוד־שמו and not, for instance, to "יהוה".

In this verse significant change have been made. LXX tries to work with a difficult text, ignores the first כבוד, and adds αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ at the end of the verse. In any case, the LXX avoids the phrase "glory of His name"! "The name" is still an attribute of God, but "the glory" is not classified as God's glory any more, but rather as something that a human being can give.

The BSL seems to be a literal translation of the text of the LXX. No "gloria" appears in connection with "nomen", but it occurs in the second part without "nomen". "Laudi eius" is added as in the LXX.

כבוד־שמו is in the BHS an object of human praise. LXX and the BSL avoid the word combination "glory of His name" and use the terms separately. Furthermore, in both versions "His name" is the object of the praise, whereas "glory" is not an attribute of God any more and is presented here as something which *men can utter to God*. "Glory" might here be understood as something less firmly linked with God.

d) Ps. 72:19 (71:19)

BHS: ¹⁷⁶...לעולם כבודו שם ברוך

LXX: καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα...

BSL: Et benedictum nomen maiestatis eius in aeternum:...

¹⁷⁶

"And blessed (?) be His glorious name for ever."

Here occurs for the first time in LXX the full phrase: τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, which is identical with the phrase in the BHS.

In this verse the BSL avoids the phrase "name of glory" again. שם כבוד is changed: "nomen" has a possessive pronoun (referring to God) but כבוד is not translated with "gloria", but with "maiestas". This might connect the meaning of the sentence to the concept of the kingship of God.

e) Ps. 79:9 (78:9)

BHS: עזרנו אלהי ישענו על־דבר כבוד־שמך (9a)

LXX: βοήθησον ἡμῖν, ὁ θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν· ἕνεκα τῆς δόξης τοῦ ὀνόματός σου
(,κύριε,) ...

BSL: Aduva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos:...

Most interesting in this verse is that כבוד־שמך was literally translated with τῆς δόξης τοῦ ὀνόματός σου. The LXX does not avoid the word combination in this phrase. And even more interesting is the observation that not even the BSL changes the phrase (gloriam nominis tui).

f) Conclusion

In the BHS Isaiah כבוד and שם do not occur in a construct combination. Here they are signs of God's power and His close and responsible relationship to men.

In Isa. 43:7, δόξα and ὄνομα are not used in exactly the same way, but their meaning is very similar. BSL uses "gloria" like BHS uses כבוד; but "nomen" is here used as an object of human praise.

In Isa. 59:19, the BSL follows BHS. In the LXX, ἔνδοξος is used in the same way as κύριος, but it is not a substitute of the divine name.

As far as the phrase שם כבוד or כבוד-שמו/ך in the Psalms is concerned (where it is always the object of human action), the development in the versions is most interesting:

Once (Ps. 79:9 (78:9)) both versions translate literally. Once (Ps. 72:19 (71:19)) LXX follows the BHS literally, but the BSL offers only "nomen" as object of the blessing, but avoids "gloria" in this function. Once (Ps. 66:2 (65:2)) both versions avoid the phrase "glory of His name" as object of human praise. Only "His name" is used this way, whereas "glory" is grammatically used independently of God.

This means that only once the LXX uses ἔνδοξος almost as a substitute for the Tetragram. With respect to שם כבוד or כבוד-שמו/ך in the Psalms the BSL seems to develop its own usage of both terms. The LXX offers this usage only once (similarly BSL). A further indication for a new development in the BSL is its usage of "nomen" in Isa. 43:2 as object of praise, where שם does not have this meaning.

כבוד is therefore interpreted in these versions as something which is not the object of human praise.

1.2.2. שם and כבוד in 1QH

שם and כבוד do not occur grammatically in a word combination in 1QH. There are only three occasions where they occur in the same line.

In 1,30 the psalmist wants to proclaim the glory of God, to declare God's miracles, and to praise the name of God. Glory and name of God can be objects of human actions, whereas God himself seems never to be an object of that (see 11,6). As attributes of God both terms have the same quality.

In 11,6 God's glory and His name are mentioned together:

אֲבָרְכָה שְׁמִיךָ (I will praise your name)

וְאֶסְפְּרָה כְבוֹדְךָ (and I will declare your glory)

This occurrence shows, as in 1,30, that "name" and "glory" are qualities of God which can be objects for man to praise or to declare.

In 18,8 both terms occur, but the line is damaged to an extent which makes a comment on their usage impossible.

In comparison with the occurrence of the word combination in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, and the Vulgate, the following conclusions appear firm:

שֵׁם and **כְּבוֹד** are in IQH in these cases always attributes or qualities of God. Both are the object of the Psalmist's praise.

In the BHS the phrase **כְּבוֹד שֵׁם** or **כְּבוֹד-שְׁמוֹךָ** is always the object of human praise. We have seen that especially BSL, but also LXX avoided "glory" as the object of human praise, and used the term quite "independently" of God in places where human beings are praising Him. In both version "His name" functions as an object of human praise. IQH, however, does not follow the custom of BHS in using **שֵׁם** and **כְּבוֹד** in one construct combination, but it interprets **שֵׁם** and **כְּבוֹד** separately in much the same way as the BHS understands the whole phrase: firmly linked with God (JHWH) and as attributes of God and object of praise.

Furthermore, the relationship of IQH and the versions is most interesting. IQH *and* the versions avoid the phrase **כְּבוֹד שֵׁם** or **כְּבוֹד-שְׁמוֹךָ** and use the terms "glory" and "name" separately. But it does *not follow* the new interpretation of the terms (especially "glory") which we have noted in the versions. **כְּבוֹד** in IQH is always linked with God, and, even if only three times, the object of human praise.

1.2.3. כבוד and שם in the Shirot

שם itself occurs 11 times in Sabbath Shiroth (4Q403 1i 10; 4Q403 1 i 17; 4Q403 1 i 19; 4Q403 1 i 21; 4Q403 1 i 23-24; 4Q403 1 i 29; 4Q404 2 2, 4Q405 3 ii 6; 4Q405 13 3; 4Q405 13 4-5; MasSS ii 24). Only 4 times שם occurs in the same line as כבוד (4Q403 1 i 10; 4Q403 1 i 21; 4Q403 1 i 29; MasSS ii 24).

4Q403 1 i 21 (שבעה) [] אלים לכול גבורי שכל בשבעה) has a gap between שם and אלים where the text could have had כבוד. Unfortunately the textual situation is so uncertain that one can not decide for sure whether the missing term was כבוד or not. In the other cases כבוד and שם occur grammatically within a construct combination:

4Q403 1 i 10:

(...) יברך בשם כנבוד אלוהים (...)

4Q403 1 i 28/29:

(28) (...) וברך לכול (29) בשם כבודו (...)

MasSS ii 24:

(...) יברך בשם כבודו אלהים לכול [

That means that in the Shirot the word combination שם כבוד occurs 3 times. Within the construct combination שם is always in the construct state with prefix ב. כבוד is in the construct state as well or has a suffix. As such, both terms depend either on a following word in absolute state or on a 3. sg. m. suffix attached to כבוד. In two of these texts the word in absolute state is אלהים. In those cases אלוהים is the dominating word, and שם כבוד therefore is an attribute of God. In 4Q403 1 i 29 where כבוד has the suffix this suffix refers to

God. That means that in all three cases the author of the Shirot is talking about the "name of the glory" of God¹⁷⁷.

Also the comparison with BHS, LXX, BSL, and 1QH is most interesting:

The Shirot uses the terms the *same way* as the BHS. Both terms are used in one construct combination. שם כבוד is in both writings depending on God (suffix referring to God, or in the Shirot even the term אֱלֹהִים). In both cases the phrase is an object of human praise.

The Shirot does not follow the new development of the understanding of שם כבוד and שם in the versions and 1QH.¹⁷⁸

1.2.4. שם כבוד and שם as object of בָּרַךְ

The above investigation of שם כבוד in connection with שם leads to another phenomenon which is linked with the meaning of שם כבוד in the OT, the versions, 1QH, and the Shirot, and which requires examination. We have seen above that שם used in connection with שם כבוד is often the object of the verb בָּרַךְ. How does this observation influence the understanding of שם כבוד in the different writings?

1.2.4.1. OT

שם and בָּרַךְ occur 14 times in combination in the OT. The terms are mostly included in a phrase which can be outlined as follows:

nomen rectum/suffix - שם (ב) - (direct object) - בָּרַךְ

¹⁷⁷ Naturally, avoiding the divine name, as often in Qumran.

¹⁷⁸ Because the versions prefer to use שם with suffix as object of the praise and interpret שם כבוד rather "independently", and the Shirot uses שם כבוד very much in conjunction with שם, it is rather unlikely that there was an intention to use שם כבוד as substitute of the divine name. שם itself seems to acquire this function.

The phrase occurs in three different forms, as well as in a few unique usages.

a) In the first category the phrase has always the following structure:

ברך - form of (object or subject of the phrase) - בשם - יהוה

This phrase occurs in the OT 4 times (Dtn. 21:5; Ps. 118:26; 129:8; 1.Chr.16:2). The "pure" form can be found only in Dtn. 21:5 (ולברך בשם יהוה), whereas in Ps. 118:26 the subject of the phrase was inserted between verb and construct combination (ברוך הבא בשם). In Ps. 129:8 and 1.Chr. 16:2 an object (introduced by the preposition את) was added into the phrase, again between the verb and the construct combination.

b) In the second category the structure looks quite similar, but the terms have changed:

ברך - preposition - שם - nomen rectum - suffix

The phrase with this structure occurs in the OT 4 times (Ps. 72:19; 103:1; 145:21; Neh. 9:5).

c) In the third category, the structure of the phrase could be described as follows:

ברך - שם - suffix

In the OT are three texts compatible with this scheme (Ps. 96:2; 100:4; 145:1).

Use of the verb ברך in connection with שם can be classified as follows: the phrase occurs 10 times in explicitly poetical texts, mostly psalms. Three times the text is not a poetical text as such (Dtn. 21:5; 1.Chr. 16:2; 23:13), but liturgical or legal.

The subjects of the phrase are without exception human beings. In no text does **שם** occur on its own. It has either a preposition (a)) or a suffix (b)), or is nomen regens in a construct combination (c)).

a) **שם** occurs 5 times with the preposition **ב** (Dtn. 21:5; Ps. 118:26; 129:8; 1.Chr. 16:2; 23:13).¹⁷⁹ It is important for the question of the object of the verb **ברך** that in four of these texts **שם** is nomen regens of a construct combination in which **יהוה** is the nomen rectum (**יהוה שם בברך**). Only once **שם** occurs as **בשמו** (1.Chr. 23:13). This means that **שם** with the preposition **ב** in connection with the Tetragram is an established word combination.¹⁸⁰

Again the question arises how the preposition should be translated. Is it an indication of an object, or should it be translated as "in" (in the sense of "on behalf of")? In two of the texts the situation is clear: in Ps. 129:8 and 1.Chr. 16:2 the verb **ברך** has explicitly a direct object (see below). That means that the preposition **ב** has to be translated as "in". Because of the part. pass. pi. in Ps. 118:26 the translation must be "in" as well, because the passive already implies an object. Only in Dtn. 21:51 and 1. Chr. 23:13 the situation is uncertain. Here the preposition could be translated as an indication of an object.¹⁸¹

שם occurs as well, but only once, with the preposition **את** (Ps. 103:1) where it is not connected with the divine name.

b) **שם** is used four times with a suffix which refers always to God (JHWH): Ps. 96:2; 100:4; 145:1; 1.Chr. 23:13.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ In all these cases the meaning of **ב** "in" in the sense of "on behalf of; with the authority of". **ב** is not used as indication of an object.

¹⁸⁰ Most interesting is therefore Job.1,21, because here occurs the constructus combination **שם יהוה** without the preposition **ב**.

¹⁸¹ As it has to be in the phrase **יהוה שם יקרא** (see above).

c) **שם** is also used in a construct combination with **קדש** (in Ps. 145:1) and, as we have seen above, with **כבוד** (in Ps. 72:19 and Neh. 9:5). All of these terms occur with a suffix which refers to God (JHWH). And whenever **שם** and **כבוד** occur as a word combination, **שם** has no preposition. This means that the constructus combination **שם כבודו** is always the direct object of the verb **ברך**.

As in all the other phrases we analysed earlier, the object of the verb **ברך** within the phrase is the problematic point. Here the term **שם** is highly involved.

If one compares the 13 texts where the phrase occurs with the scheme I have presented above, one finds that three different kinds of objects occur.

In the first group of texts a direct object occurs between verb and the term **שם**. So in Ps. 129:8 the preposition **את** with the 2.pl. suffix (**אתכם**) and in 1.Chr. 16:2 the term **העם** with the preposition **את**.

In the second group **שם** occurs either with a suffix and is direct object (Ps. 96:2; 100:4; 145:1), or within a word combination which is the direct object (Ps. 72:19; 145:21; Neh. 9:5).

In this group it is interesting that the nomen rectum of the construct combination which is the object is never the Tetragram.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Depending on the context the 3.sg.m. suffix (Ps. 96:2; 100:4; 1.Chr. 23:13) or the 2.sg.m. suffix is used.

¹⁸³ The only exception is again Job. 1:21. There **שם ידורה** occurs, but here the word combination is at the same time the subject (**ברך** is passive) of the phrase. But this still leaves the problem whether in Dtn. 21:5 and Ps. 118:26 (where no direct object occurs in the phrase) the word combination **שם ידורה** could be the object or not. We have still two examples where a translation as object would not be impossible. But there are, indeed, several facts which seem to indicate that the preposition is meant as "in": **ב** has to be translated as "in" when the phrase has a direct object, which happens twice (Ps. 129:8 and 1.Chr. 16:2). A direct object is either indicated by **את** (Ps. 103:1) or **שם** is used in a construct combination without preposition and the whole combination is the direct object (Ps. 72:19; 145:21; Neh. 9:5), or it is used with a suffix and as such a direct object (Ps. 96:2; 100:4; 145:1). In none of those texts where the term **שם** (as part of a construct combination or with a suffix and in both cases without preposition) is a direct object does it occur in connection with the Tetragram. So it is rather unlikely that the authors of the text understood the word combination **שם ידורה** as object of **ברך**.

In the third group the verb בָּרַךְ does not have an object (especially Dtn. 21:5; Ps. 118:26 where only the "modus" of praise is given: בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה).

But one problem remains, indeed: 1. Chr. 23:13. Here occurs בְּשִׁמּוֹ. This term could be used as an object, or the preposition ב could be understood as "in" in the sense of "on behalf of". The meaning of the phrase is difficult to interpret. The only hint we have is that in all of the other cases ב means "in".

And there is another verse in the OT that is important at this point: Ez. 3:12. This verse is important because the phrase כְּבוֹד־יְהוָה בְּרוּךְ occurs in the context of angelic praise.¹⁸⁴ שֵׁם does not occur here, and כְּבוֹד is certainly not understood as a substitute for the divine name since it occurs in combination with it, and this is one of the two verses in the OT where the text says something about the words of angelic praise.¹⁸⁵ This again might be a point where the Shirot, describing the angelic praise of the heavenly beings, developed an idea of the OT which occurs there only once. The exact phrase of Ez. 3:12 does not occur in the Shirot,¹⁸⁶ but by contrast a similar expression influenced by the distinctive theological ideas of Qumran. כְּבוֹד is, however, certainly used as attribute of JHWH in Ez. 3:12.

¹⁸⁴ Grammatically it is the extended motif בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה which is the "primary Israelite formula for blessing God" (W.S. Towner, "'Blessed Be JHWH' and 'Blessed Art Thou, JHWH': The Modulation of a Biblical Formula", *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968), 386-399, 386.

¹⁸⁵ Another verse is Isa. 6:3, but the wording of this verse is interesting for the present context.

¹⁸⁶ As also B. Nitzan points out (B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 277).

Furthermore it is interesting that the formula בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה occurs in 1QH in 5,20f; 10,13, 16,8, certainly at some points with changes: the Tetragram is replaced and sometimes the personal pronoun אֲתָה is added.

1.2.4.2. Comparison with 1QH

שם occurs twice in 1QH in connection with the verb ברך (2,30; 11,6¹⁸⁷):

2,30:

(...) אברכה שמכה (...)

11,6:

(...) אברכה שמכה (...)

The usage of the two terms in 1QH is compatible to a certain extent with scheme c) (i.e.: suffix - שם - ברך). Both of the phrases in 1QH occur in poetical texts. The subject in both of the texts in 1QH is the psalmist. שם occurs always with the 2. sg. m. suffix (שמכה). The suffix refers clearly to God. It is used without a preposition. Here a most interesting fact should be noted: in 1QH the term is certainly used as direct object of the verb ברך, because of the lack of a preposition, the structure of the phrase, and the closer context.¹⁸⁸ Again an author of Qumran seems to have developed the use of a term in the OT. Furthermore, the terms of reference of שמכה in these two lines in 1QH are very significant, since they seem not to be represented in the OT, the term שמכה being used here as the direct object of human praise. As such, "name" seems to stand for *God himself*. The term שם is used instead of the divine name or other substitutes for this name. It is also of note that this type of usage occurs only twice in 1QH. This is again an indication that 1QH did not intend to use כבוד as substitute of the divine name.

¹⁸⁷ In 17,20 שם occurs with the term ברכה. Therefore this verse cannot be included in the investigation, although the meaning of this phrase is quite similar to the sense of phrases where שם occurs with the verb ברך.

¹⁸⁸ In the fragments 4,17 (שמכה אברכה) and 38,2 (יברכו שמכה) the situation is quite similar, only the particular verb form changes. But usage and meaning are the same.

1.2.4.3. Comparison with the Shirot¹⁸⁹

In the Shirot שם occurs 9 times directly connected with the verb ברך. Concerning the structure of the phrase¹⁹⁰ in which the two terms occur in the Shirot almost the same observations as for the usage of the terms in IQH can be stated. They occur in the phrase:

(direct object) - nomen rectum/suffix - (ב)שם - ברך

In the Shirot, the terms שם and ברך occur in the setting of praise uttered to God. Whereas in the OT and in IQH the subject is always a human being, in the Shirot the subject is always one of the "chief princes", so a heavenly being. By chanting the Songs the earthly worshipper joins the praise of the heavenly beings and becomes, therefore, a "subject" of the phrase as well.¹⁹¹

Concerning the verb ברך the situation is as follows: in the Shirot the verb occurs always as יברך (3.sg.m.impf.pi.). This usage reflects the narrative character of the Songs describing events in the heavenly world and the deeds of the chief princes. This use of the verb demonstrates also that the earthly worshippers are not so much involved in the praise which is described in the Songs as they are in the texts of the OT or IQH. In the Songs the 3.pers.sg. is always used, whereas in the OT and IQH the imperative, the cohortative or the 1.sg.m./pl. is used most frequently.

Investigation of the term שם provides important results. We have already seen that שם occurs in the OT 5 times with the preposition ב. In IQH שם in connection with ברך never occurs with preposition. In the Shirot the term occurs *always and only* with the preposition ב

¹⁸⁹ For the special usage of מלך in this phrase see A.M. Schwermer, *Gott als König*, 86-94. In contrast to A.M. Schwermer we will focus here on the usage of כבוד in this phrase. A very brief discussion of the "Benediction Form" may be found in D.K. Falk, *Prayers*, 146-148.

¹⁹⁰ A. M. Schwermer, *Gott als König*, 45, 89f. calls the phrase "liturgische Formel".

¹⁹¹ Cf. p. 49.

(11 times). We have seen that whenever שם occurs with the preposition ב in the OT it is also part of a word combination with the divine name (only one exception: 1.Chr. 16,2). In the Songs this word combination *does not occur at all*.

Furthermore, שם does not occur in the Songs with a suffix which refers to God. It is always part of a construct combination.

An equally important observation follows. We have seen that שם occurs twice in the OT in connection with קדש and twice with כבוד. In these four cases the nomen rectum has also a suffix which refers to God. The situation in the Shirot is different. There the term שם occurs only once in connection with the term קדש (4Q403 1 i 23-24), which has the 3.sg.m. suffix referring to God. And as we have seen above, three times the term שם occurs with the term כבוד (4Q403 1 i 10; 4Q403 1 i 29; MasSS ii 24), but in only one of these texts the nomen rectum (כבוד) has a suffix (4Q403 1 i 29). Twice the phrase בשם כבוד אלהים occurs (4Q403 1 i 10; MasSS ii 24). So, instead of the suffix, כבוד has the term אלהים as nomen rectum. And even more striking is the contrast to its usage in the OT and IQH, since שם occurs within the above described phrase with different terms:

4Q403 1 i 17¹⁹²: יברך בשם הוד המלך לכול (...)

4Q404 2 2:¹⁹³ יברך בשם גבורות אלים (...)

¹⁹² And possibly 4Q405 3 ii 6.

¹⁹³ And possibly 4Q405 13 4-5.

This constitutes a major difference in usage and understanding of שם and בִּרְךְ between the OT, IQH, and the Shirot. We have seen that in the OT the term שם occurs either with the Tetragram, or with קדש and כבוד with suffix referring to God, or only with a suffix. *The Tetragram does not occur in the entire text of the Shirot.* It was replaced not only (as in IQH) by שם with a suffix referring to God,¹⁹⁴ but also with different terms with suffix, or with אלהים. The words which occur in connection with שם and בִּרְךְ in the Shirot do not occur in that connection either in the OT or in IQH. Here again we need to examine the object of בִּרְךְ. This matter proves straightforward.

In the Songs the verb is always followed by the construct combination in which the term שם is the nomen regens. After this combination follows the direct object of the verb introduced by the preposition ל: לכול ("all those who..."). The objects are always beings with certain qualities, but they are never the word combination in which the term שם occurs. This means that in the Songs the word combination in which the term שם occurs is never the object of the verb בִּרְךְ, whereas in the OT and in IQH the term שם with suffix or even a construct combination with שם does stand as the direct object. The object of בִּרְךְ in the OT and IQH is the "name of God", or a word combination like "the name of His glory"; but *never* beings (human or heavenly).

The result of this investigation into the Shirot is threefold. First, with regard to the term שם itself, one may state confidently that it is not used as a substitute for the Tetragram. It is always dominated by a nomen rectum. It is this nomen rectum, as we have seen above, which does duty for the divine name.

¹⁹⁴ In this case the intention of the author could have been simply to avoid the word יהוה.

Secondly, our understanding of **כבוד** becomes clearer. **כבוד** occurs three times in the Shirot in this word combination, where the grammatically dominating term is either **אלוהים** (4Q403 1 i 10; MasSS ii 24), or **כבוד** with suffix referring to God. This usage indicates that **כבוד** is firmly linked with God in these phrase. But it also receives a certain importance as a phenomenon, because it *is* used in these phrases. Furthermore, in those cases where **כבוד** does not occur in the phrase, other terms are employed as dominating terms *without* a connection to God. This indicates that the phenomenon **כבוד** becomes very important as *a divine phenomenon*. The fact that **כבוד** is a *divine phenomenon* gives it a kind of *independent function* in comparison with other heavenly phenomena. But it is *still linked with God*.

Thirdly, the object of the blessings is now heavenly beings or, by extension, the earthly worshippers chanting the Songs, whereas in the OT and 1QH the object was the name of God and the subject the beings. That means that the name of God, maybe even God Himself, became in the Shirot less prominent than it or He was especially in the OT texts considered here. This might be also a reason, why **כבוד** in the Shirot begins to gain more "independence" and its own weight. This seems to be a decisive difference between the usage of the term **כבוד** in the OT and 1QH on the one hand and the Shirot on the other hand.

1.2.5. **כבוד** and the divine name in 4Q403 1 ii 3 and Ez. 1:28

Again the question of the relationship between **כבוד** and the divine name arises because of the parallelism of 4Q403 1 ii 3 and Ez. 1:28. 4Q403 1 ii 3 reads:

מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוח[...]

Ez. 1:28* has at the decisive part of the text:

הוא מראה דמות כבוד יהוה

Grammatically C. Newsom is absolutely right in commenting that in the Shirot text **כבוד** governs **רוחי ממלכות לראשי**, and in Ez. 1:28 **כבוד** governs **יהוה**.¹⁹⁵ But this does not necessarily mean, even if 4Q403 1 ii 3 depends on Ez. 1:28, that **כבוד** is a substitute for the divine name, because **כבוד** here depends grammatically on another term or phrase. These terms or phrases might be exchanged. **כבוד**, however, is not part of such an exchange. Therefore, the author of the Shirot used the phrase he knew from Ez. 1:28 for his purposes, talking about the spirits, not JHWH; but he certainly did not replace the divine name by **כבוד**.

1.3. **כבוד** and the kingship of God

1.3.1. **כבוד** and **מלך**

Elsewhere **כבוד** is used as an attribute of God in conjunction with **מלך**. The word combination occurs throughout the Shirot (Part 1,2, and 3). Here again the question arises whether **כבוד** was understood as a substitute for God or the divine name.

To answer this question, we must investigate the occurrence of this word combination in the OT and IQH.

כבוד and **מלך** in the OT only 10 times occur together in one verse.¹⁹⁶ And it is even more significant that only in Ps. 24 do the two terms occur grammatically in a word combination.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ C. Newsom, *Songs*, 233.

¹⁹⁶ I.K. 3:13; Isa. 8:7; 14:18; Ps. 24:7; 24:8; 24:9; 24:10; 102:16; Est. 5:11; 2.Chr. 1:12.

¹⁹⁷ For the discussion of the "Jahwe-König-Psalmen" in view of the Shirot see especially A.M. Schwermer,

The word combination מלך הכבוד occurs 4 times in this psalm (v.7.8.9.10), and in v.8 and 10 the psalmist defines the מלך הכבוד.

v.8: מי זה מלך הכבוד יהוה עזוז וגבור יהוה גבור מלחמה

v.10: מי הוא זה מלך הכבוד יהוה צבאות הוא מלך הכבוד סלה

Grammatically, מלך occurs always in the construct state, כבוד occurs in the absolute state with article. In both verses the following nominal clause defines who the מלך הכבוד is. In both verses the psalmist points out that the מלך הכבוד is JHWH. In v.8 he describes JHWH by giving Him the attributes of עזוז (strong) which occurs only here in the entire OT, and גבור (powerful, mighty) which is a common description.

What is the sense of כבוד in these verses? We note that מלך is parallel to יהוה. Therefore, כבוד seems to be understood as an attribute of מלך, as עזוז וגבור and צבאות are understood as attributes of יהוה. Given the parallel structure of the sentence מלך הכבוד seems to be a substitute for יהוה with its attributes. Grammatically מלך is the substitute for the Tetragram, not כבוד.

For understanding of כבוד, two important factors come into play at this point. First, כבוד in the word combination מלך הכבוד is not understood as a substitute for the divine name.

It is, quite literally, an attribute of God. It begins, however, to gain a certain "independence" from God, and grammatically from the divine name. This observation may illuminate the *Gott als König*, 58ff. This discussion is beyond the scope of this study. Here we will only focus on those verses where מלך and כבוד occur together.

usage of מלך הכבוד in the Shirot, since we have shown that כבוד in those Songs becomes more and more "independent" from God. It is not necessarily understood as a substitute for God or His name, but it claims attention as a theologically significant aspect of God in its own right.

Secondly, the occurrence of מלך הכבוד in the OT most obviously suggests that the author of the Shirot developed ideas or understandings of OT expressions which occur there only a few times, or even only once, and which are difficult to interpret.¹⁹⁸ As we will see below in detail, the Shirot uses כבוד 9 times in connection with מלך.

We must now point out that כבוד never occurs in IQH in connection with מלך: the authors of IQH did not use the word combination מלך הכבוד. This, too, strongly suggests that IQH in its understanding of כבוד stands much closer to the general modes of expression of the OT than do the Shirot. The use of כבוד in IQH is throughout far less innovative than in the Shirot.

By contrast, כבוד is used 9 times in the Shirot in connection with מלך.¹⁹⁹ 6 times the word combination מלך הכבוד occurs. This definitely substantiates the view that the author of the Shirot develops usages of כבוד which occur rarely in the OT, and which are therefore difficult to interpret. Consequently, the following passages must be carefully reviewed: MasShirShabb ii 11/12:

(...) תהלת הודות [12] בלשון החמישי ל[מלך הכבוד] (...)

¹⁹⁸ The discussion whether or not the Shirot continue "diese alte 'Tempeltheologie' und die Interpretation der alten Gottesepitheta" (A.M. Schwermer, *Gott als König*, 59) in general lies beyond the scope of this study. But it certainly has to be considered very carefully. And one can only agree with the statement that the language in the "Jahwe-König-Psalmen" leads to the language of the Shirot (A.M. Schwermer, *Gott als König*, 60) in the above described: the Shirot developed ideas of the OT which occur there *only occasionally*.

¹⁹⁹ In the Shirot God is called 55 times מלך (A.M. Schwermer, *Gott als König*, 48). In this writing the concept of the kingship of God is, therefore, vitally important.

4Q403 1 i 3:

תהולת והודות בלשון החמישין לנמלך הכבוד

4Q403 1 i 31:

(...) יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד (...)

4Q403 1 ii 25:

ותשבחות רומם למלך הכבוד²⁰⁰

The word combination מלך הכבוד in the Shirot in a certain manner is always the object of thanksgiving or praise. The thanksgiving and praise of the Shirot is due to the King of glory. מלך הכבוד is here, as in the OT, identical with God. But in contrast with the usage of the word combination in the OT מלך הכבוד is here more "independent", because the statement that the thanksgiving, and therefore the content and aim of the Shirot, is due to the מלך of *the* glory (כבוד with article in the absolute state) gives the כבוד an enormous weight. Furthermore, the word combination occurs here without the defining divine name. מלך הכבוד stands here on its own. מלך הכבוד simply is used for "God". There is no real indication that הכבוד on its own is used here as a substitute for God or His divine name. But because of the importance of the word combination, כבוד appears here, more so than in the OT, to be an important word with its own particular significance. Because the whole word combination and especially the term מלך mean or refer to God, כבוד *gains independence*

²⁰⁰ In 4Q400 1 ii 8 and 11QShirShabb 5-6 6 מלך הכבוד are the only preserved words of the line

as a phenomenon which is still linked with God. This independence is gained rather with regard to other heavenly phenomena than with regard to God: **כבוד** gains its own and independent function in the heavenly world. Only with respect to this independent function, we may sense a tendency to weaken the link between **כבוד** and God.

Both terms are also used in a word combination in 4Q400 2 5, but grammatically in a different way. **כבוד** is here the attribute of "the King of godlike beings":

כבוד מלך אלוהים יספרו במעוני עומדם [...]

The heavenly beings declare the glory of this King. This verse demonstrates as well that **כבוד** was not understood as completely "independent" of God, but as divine phenomenon it has certainly its own weight and importance.

In 4Q403 1 i 13 // 4Q405 3 ii 3 **כבוד** and **מלך** occur as well, but grammatically not in a word combination.²⁰¹

1.3.2. מלכות and כבוד

Because "the frequent use of **מלכות** and the numerous references to God as king indicates the importance of that image of God in the Shirot"²⁰², we now investigate the sense of **כבוד** in conjunction with **מלכות**.

Both terms occur in 4Q403 1 i 25:

(...) וברך לכול נון עדי [צדן ק מה] ללי מלכות כבודו [נצח

²⁰¹ See for this line p. 93.

²⁰² C. Newsom, *Songs*, 204.

כבוד is here certainly the "glory of God" (suffix referring to God). The object of the praise is here the מלכות of the glory of God. According to the grammatical usage (dominating מלכות and connected with God only through the suffix) and the wording of the line (כבוד as the last noun of the word combination followed only by the suffix) the intention of the author is obvious: the emphasis of the word combination lies on כבוד. This is the impression the reader inevitably receives. כבוד, therefore, is here understood as a phenomenon which is still attributively linked with God, but no longer entirely bound up with God. It has *its own important place in the heavenly world*, the heavenly kingdom of God. For the heavenly beings, and the earthly worshippers כבוד is a very important element of the heavenly world which gains independence from all the heavenly objects, because it is still a divine phenomenon. But כבוד in this line would be misunderstood, if one postulated that it is used as substitute for God or His name. We have seen that כבוד is an important element of the heavenly world of God, but not identical with God. Linguistically it is also unlikely that כבוד was used as substitute for the divine name. Rather the author of the Shirot used כבוד as a visible and audible phenomenon in the heavenly word. In that world of praise it becomes one of the most important elements, because it is a *perceptible* and "*divine*" (i.e. still related to God) phenomenon. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that the author of the Shirot intended to use it as substitute for the divine name.

In 4Q405 23 ii 11-12 מלכות כבוד occurs in the same sense. Only the aspect of praise is missing, but that does not weaken our definition of the understanding of the term. The same can be said about 4Q405 24 3, although the proceeding text giving the word combination in

this line is not preserved. And at 4Q401 14 i 6 a similar reading (מלכות כבודכה)²⁰³ occurs in which כבוד has the same sense.²⁰⁴

Three times in this part of the Shirot occurs the word combination כבוד מלכותו: 4Q403 1 i 32; 4Q403 1 ii 10; and 4Q405 23 i 3.²⁰⁵ This usage of כבוד strengthens our thesis above about the understanding of כבוד. Here the emphasis of the statement lies on the kingdom of God as a classical theological concept of the OT. כבוד is part of this kingdom. Once more כבוד is understood as an important phenomenon of the heavenly world. Because grammatically it is here no longer linked with God, one could argue that it is understood as completely "independent". But as part of the kingdom of God which is full of God and as close to Him as anything can be to its creator, כבוד is still, albeit less closely, connected to God.

1.4. חור and כבוד

So far, we have investigated two aspects of כבוד in the Shirot: its connection with the name of God, and its conjunction with the concept of the kingship of God. With both of these aspects, another term comes to mind which is significant at this point: חור. חור occurs often in the Shirot, and others important points for the understanding of כבוד. It is used in conjunction with the phrase: nomen rectum - ברך - בשם. It seems to be that חור within this word combination was used as equivalent of the term כבוד, or even of the Tetragram.

²⁰³ This phrase is interesting for another reason. Only in the fragments 4Q401 14 i // 4Q400 2 and 4Q400 1 ii occurs a direct address to God (cf. C. Newsom, *Songs*, 137).

²⁰⁴ Here the context of the word combination is badly damaged, but it might be used in the above sense.

²⁰⁵ For the comparison with the OT see also Ps. 145:12; Esth. 1:4; Dan. 11:20-21.

²⁰⁶ Cf. 4Q403 1 i 17 and 4Q405 3 ii 6.

Therefore, the meaning of **הָרָר** in the Shirot may throw light on understanding of **כְּבוֹד** in the Songs.²⁰⁷

1.4.1. Usage in the OT

הָרָר is used only 23 times in the OT; so it is not a very common word. Its translation is not always certain, but in general and most frequently it might be best to translate with "majesty".

The way in which **הָרָר** is used in the OT reflects its importance for the understanding of **כְּבוֹד** in the OT, 1QH and the Shirot. Both terms are used in a very similar way.

1.4.1.1. **הָרָר** as attribute of God

Almost in any text where the term **הָרָר** occurs in the OT it is somehow related to God himself. Only the degree of this relationship differs, very often because of the context in which it occurs. Broadly speaking, there are two different ways in which **הָרָר** is used as attribute of God. The term **הָרָר** is used 8 times²⁰⁸ as a direct attribute of God himself. The **הָרָר** is a quality of God. Grammatically this is expressed by adding to the term the 3.sg.m. suffix which refers to God²⁰⁹; or the text where **הָרָר** occurs is a poetical text which is uttered to God, so the uttering person gives God this quality.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Because we are examining the understanding of a term other than **כְּבוֹד** to find out more about **כְּבוֹד** itself, it is essential at this point to consider the OT and 1QH.

²⁰⁸ 1.Chr.29:11; Ps.8:2; 96:6; 104:1b; 145:5; 148:13; Isa.30:30; Hab.3:3b.

Especially Isa.30:30 is interesting at this point because the context is God's judgement of Assyria, and His promise to Zion. The usage of **הָרָר** as attribute of God and the fact that the term is linked with the theme of the temple are connected here. The second observation is that the acting person in the context (cf. v. 27a) is not called "God", but "the name of God". Isa.30:30 is a text, therefore, where "the name of God" and the **הָרָר** are somehow linked.

In Ps.104:1 **הָרָר** is used within a description of God. The whole description uses kingdom language as, for example, does Ps.45:4.

For the special usage and combination of the term in Ps.145:5 see below

Isa.30:30; Ps.8:2; Hab.3:3b.

²¹⁰ 1.Chr.29:11; Ps.145:5; 148:13.

1.4.1.2. Attribute of the place where God exists

The term **הוֹר** is not always used as attribute of God in order to "characterise" God. Five times **הוֹר** is used to describe the place where God is, the area around God.²¹¹ In this sense **הוֹר** has a supernatural reference again.

1.Chr.16:27; Ps.96:6; and Job.37:22 represent this group perfectly well. The term **הוֹר** occurs as an attribute of the divine area.²¹² The other texts (Ps.8:2; 148:13; Hab.3:3b) show another important element which is important for understanding of **הוֹר** in the Shirot. **הוֹר** is there not only used within a description of the area around God, but with regard to a distinction between heaven and earth. In these three texts (Ps.8:2; 148:13; Hab.3:3b) the **הוֹר** does either "cover the heaven" (Hab.3:3b), or it is "above heaven" (**עַל-הַשָּׁמַיִם**, Ps.8:2), or even "above earth and heaven" (**עַל-אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם**, Ps.148:13). Clearly, **הוֹר** was used by the authors of these texts to refer to something which does not belong to this world (and according to Ps.8:2 and 148:13 was located above heaven), but which is very closely related to God - maybe an attribute of God or of the area where God exists. **הוֹר** was envisaged as something which is around God, which is part of the area around God, the place where God exists. The place described here in the OT is strongly redolent of the descriptions of the heavenly world in the Shirot. Once more, *the Shirot have developed ideas or concepts of the OT regarding **הוֹר**, into which **כְּבוֹד** was then integrated.*

²¹¹ 1.Chr.16:27; Ps.8:2; 96:6; 148:13; Job37:22; Hab.3:3b.

²¹² Ps.96:6 says: "Majesty (**הוֹר**) and glory/honour (**הוֹדָר**) are before Him; strength and beauty are in his sanctuary," a place where God is and where the **הוֹר** is described. The psalmist calls that place in 6b **מִקְדָּשׁוֹ**. This might be a clear indication of temple language or, at least, of the fact that the place where the **הוֹר** is was somehow connected with the temple as holy place. Again this observation shows that the term **הוֹר** was used in this semantic field of kingship, temple, God, divine place, and sometimes in one text relating to more than one of these themes. The situation in 1.Chr.16:27 is similar, but the place is there called **מִקְדָּמוֹ** (27b). Job.37:22b says: "[...] around God is frightening majesty (**הוֹרָא הוֹרָא**)).

Furthermore, in all three texts **הוד** is used in a comparison. **הוד** is described as an element of the area of God. By contrast, the author always names another element, linked with God, but which stays on earth, and which is somehow accessible to human beings. This element is in Ps.8:2 the name of God.²¹³ The name of God is on earth (**בכל-הארץ**, 2a), the **הוד** of God is above in heaven (**על-השמים**, 2b). Both terms (on a different level) are objects of human praise in this psalm of the revelation of the glory of God in the creation. This seems to mean that *the name of God and glory of God are on the earth, accessible to the humans*. The **הוד** seems, on contrary, to be understood as an element which is inaccessible to humans. This text clarifies a little the relationship between the themes "name of God", "glory of God", and "majesty of God".

In Ps. 148:13²¹⁴ the name of God (**שם יהוה**) and **הוד** occur again within the same verse. And it seems that again **הוד** is above heaven and inaccessible for humans, but the name of JHWH is exalted (**נשגב**) and seems still to be available in this world. However, the use of the two terms is similar: and in this text the distinction between the heavenly **הוד** and the earthly **שם יהוה** is not absolutely clear-cut, as it was in Ps. 8:2.

In Hab.3:3b²¹⁵ **הוד** belongs to the divine area, whereas God's praise (**תהלים**) fills the earth. **הוד** is again a quality in heaven. The glory of God reflects what is available to people on the earth²¹⁶.

²¹³ "JHWH our Lord, how majestic is your name in all the earth; you have set your majesty above the heaven".

²¹⁴ "Let them praise the name of JHWH, for exalted is his name particularly; his majesty is above earth and heaven."

²¹⁵ "His majesty (**הוד**) covers the heaven, and His praise filled the earth."

²¹⁶ This might reflect again the thought of the creation which still has the glory of its creator. But other elements of the being of God like **הוד** are not accessible for humans.

In Job 40:10b²¹⁷ הוֹדֵר seems to be a quality of God as well. In the second speech of God in the book of Job (Job 40:6-41:26) God shows Job the greatness of himself and uses therefore in verse 6 the terms הוֹדֵר and הוֹדֵר to indicate the difference between God and human beings: God has the quality of הוֹדֵר, people don't have it.

1.4.1.3. In conjunction with the Temple

Very often the term הוֹדֵר occurs in conjunction with the temple. So Zech.6:13 says that Joshua will build the temple again, which will be made "majestically" (הוֹדֵר). In Ps.96:6 the terms הוֹדֵר and הוֹדֵר occur in the same verse as בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ ("Majesty and honour are before him; strength and beauty are in his sanctuary". Ps.96:6). The הוֹדֵר is here explicitly located in the temple. So, the presence of God seems to bring, to cause the הוֹדֵר. David's Psalm of Thanksgiving in 1.Chr.16:8-36 indicates exactly the same conjunction in nearly the same words as Ps.96:6: "Majesty (הוֹדֵר) and honour/glory (הוֹדֵר) are before him; strength and joy are in his place (בְּמִקְדָּמוֹ)" (v.27). So, again the presence of God brings or causes the הוֹדֵר. Although it is never said that JHWH is with his הוֹדֵר dwelling in the temple, it seems plausible to connect הוֹדֵר with the temple. Reasons for this include the use of the term in conjunction with the temple, its use in description of the place where God exists (especially the mention of the מִקְדָּשׁ in this context in Ps.96:6), and the fact that the context of its occurrence is often characterised by temple language. For the people at Qumran, therefore, the term הוֹדֵר probably had an association with the temple. The frequent use of the term in the Shirot could, therefore, be intended to give the readers or singers of the texts the impression that a place

²¹⁷ "With majesty and honour/glory clothe yourself."

like the temple is meant. While the place described in the Songs is not identical with the temple, however, for the worshippers in Qumran it must have been understood as a holier place which had high authority. **כבוד** (of God) used so much in this setting is, therefore, in the Shirot understood as an element of this holy world which is still (at least linguistically) linked with the temple of the OT. Hence, **כבוד** is certainly the **כבוד** of God.²¹⁸

1.4.1.4. In conjunction with the kingdom

הוד is also often used in conjunction with the kingdom (of God). In Zech.6:13a²¹⁹ **הוד** occurs in a kingdom setting (the enthronement of Jeshua who will sit on his throne (**ישב**) and rule (**משל**)). Most obvious is the kingdom language in 1.Chr.29:25: the verse is part of the narrative of the enthronement of Solomon and is used to describe king Solomon. Ps.21:6 is a psalm of "God's help for the king". The whole psalm is characterised by the kingdom language. In verse 6b the psalmist says that God will bestow majesty (**הוד**) and honour/glory (**הדר**) on the king.²²⁰ The term **הוד** is again used alongside kingdom language. Also in Ps.45, a song for a royal wedding, the term **הוד** is used alongside kingdom language.²²¹ In Ps.104:1 a very important usage occurs: here **הוד** is used as attribute of God (see above) within a "description" of God which is characterised through the kingdom language. In Ps.145, a psalm of blessing uttered to the "God and King" (cf. v.1), **הוד** occurs in the context

²¹⁸ The precise differences between the ways **הוד** is used in the OT and the Shirot, which are of importance of themselves, cannot be discussed here.

²¹⁹ See above.

²²⁰ Ps.21:6: "His glory is great through your help; majesty and honour/glory you bestow on him." It is interesting that according to v.6a the king has glory (**כבוד**) which he received from God. The **כבוד** is obviously not only used vis-à-vis God. Both term **הוד** and **כבוד** are used in the same way: both are given by God to the king.

²²¹ Ps.45:4 "Gird your sword on your thigh, mighty one; your majesty (**הוד**) and your honour/glory (**הדר**).

of the concept of the kingship of God as well.²²² In Da. 11:21 the term **הָוֹד** is used negatively: someone who does not have the **הָוֹד** is not the real king.

The worshippers in Qumran would have been aware of this meaning and understanding of the term **הָוֹד** as well.

1.4.1.5. Attribute of chosen ones

הָוֹד is used with another very interesting and important meaning which is also related to the concept of the kingship of God (cf. 3.). 9 times **הָוֹד** is given as the quality of a human being,²²³ given by God. By giving **הָוֹד**, God authorised the person who receives it. A place or person where **הָוֹד** is has been chosen and authorised by God. Through the divine **הָוֹד** they received a certain measure of the divine character. One could say that the chosen ones have **כְּבוֹד** (because of the relationship of creator and creation) and **הָוֹד** (because of election). Naturally this idea is used often with regard to the chosen king of Israel.

So, in 1.Chr.29:25 Solomon was authorised as king of Israel by God and has, therefore, the **הָוֹד מַלְכוּת**. In Ps.21:6a the king receives glory (**כְּבוֹד**) from God and, in 6b, **הָוֹד**. In Ps.45:4 the **הָוֹד** is used as a quality of the king. In the text of the enthronement of Jeshua (Zech.6:9-15) the enthronement is induced by God so that the king has the **הָוֹד**. Twice (Jer.22:18 and Da.11:21) the term is used negatively: a person who does not have the **הָוֹד** is not authorised to be the king of Israel. He does not have the **הָוֹד מַלְכוּת**. The situation in Num.27:20 is a little different: in this text God tells Moses "to give him [Joshua] some of

²²² Examples: in v.11a **כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּת**, in v.13a **כָּל-עֲלָמִים מַלְכוּת**.

²²³ Num. 27:20; 1.Chr. 29:25; Ps. 21:6; 45:4; 111:3; Jer. 22:18; Da. 11:21; Hos. 14:7; Sa. 6:13.

your [Moses's] **הור**"; Joshua becomes the authorised successor of Mose and receives the **הור**. In Hos. 14:7 the author tells us (through the image of the "olive tree") that Israel will obtain the **הור**. The chosen Israel has **הור**.²²⁴ Finally, in Ps. 111:3 the **הור** is the quality of the creation of God. Here, I think, the link between the terms **הור** and **כבוד** is obvious: the creation has **כבוד** because it is created by God. But only once in the OT is it said that the creation has also **הור**. The **כבוד** seems to be more closely related to this world (maybe even accessible for the humans), whereas one can *talk* about **הור**, but it is not really part of this world (the **הור** itself is inaccessible to men).

These senses of **הור** and **כבוד** were certainly known to the writers of Qumran. The question is, therefore, how they used them in their writings.

1.4.2. IQH

According to K.G. Kuhn²²⁵ the term **הור** occurs only once in the Qumran texts which are taken into consideration in his Concordance: in IQH 5,32.

Compared with the OT, this text very interesting. **הור** occurs here in a typical "Klagelied des Einzelnen". The psalmist is desperate. His friends have left him. So in 5,32b the psalmist says about himself: "And the light of my countenance was dimmed into darkness, and my **הור** was turned into gloom. Here the term is entirely different from its use in the OT: in the OT it never occurs in a "Klagelied des Einzelnen"; and in IQH 5,32 it is neither attribute of God nor of the place where God exists, and it is certainly not used with temple or kingdom

²²⁴ Hos. 14:7: "His shoots shall spread out; his **הור** shall be like the olive tree, and his fragrance like that of Lebanon." Here occurs again the poetical figure of the trees, just as in IQH 8 in connection with the **כבוד**.

²²⁵ K.G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz*, 55.

language. It is not used as attribute of a chosen king, leader, or people. In this text **הור** is simply a quality of the psalmist. As an attribute of a human being, it expresses well-being and even wealth of that person.²²⁶

In 1QH **הור** has nothing to do any more with the kingdom or temple theme. It is very significant that **הור** which occurs in the Hebrew Bible so often almost disappears in 1QH. This fact becomes even more astonishing when we consider that **הור** occurs in the Hebrew Bible quite often in settings which are similar to the settings **כבוד** occurs in (for example in connection with the kingdom or the temple). But 1QH shows no interest in **הור** linked with the kingdom or the temple, but in **כבוד** which is occasionally used in connection with kingdom or temple in the Hebrew Bible too.

1.4.3. Shirot

Compared with its occurrence in 1QH, it is surprising that in the Shirot **הור** occurs in 17 lines. In comparison with the OT this is also a large number of instances. Why is the word **הור** so important in the Shirot?

The examination of the term in the Songs is challenging because first of all the textual situation of the fragments is very often difficult. Five lines where **הור** occurs are damaged to an extent which makes every comment on them impossible.²²⁷ Secondly, while **הור** seems to be

²²⁶ It is very interesting that in the translations of 1QH different terms are used for the word. One can even see the irritation experienced by the scholars in trying to find a proper equivalent for it. M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 139 translates with "fresh colour"; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 180 translates with "radiance"; J. Maier, *Qumran-Essener Bd.I*, 80 translates with "meines Angesichts Licht", and E. Lohse, *Texte aus Qumran*, 133 translates with "Würde". However, it is obvious that **הור** can in this text not be translated with "majesty", because in the context it has to be a term which is linked with the human body and with light: probably "radiance" or "des Angesichts Licht", but not "fresh colour" or "Würde".

²²⁷ 4Q401 37 3; 4Q405 24; 11QSS 5-6 2; 11QSS f 6; 11QSS j-d-g-p 9. Difficult also: 4Q403 1 i 45 (overlap 4Q405 6 6); 4Q404 5 3 (overlap 4Q403 1 i 45).

used within the categories we have discovered for its usage in the OT, at the same time its meaning has been changed. The context of its occurrence is different. And, thirdly, a new usage may be discerned in the Songs.

1.4.3.1. In conjunction with the kingdom (of God)

Four times the term **הוד** is used alongside the concept of the kingdom. In 4Q400 2 3 the holiest of the holy ones (**קדושי קדושים**, 4Q400 2 1)

"[...] declare the majesty of His kingdom (**מלכותו**)²²⁸ according to their knowledge and exalt

[His glory in all] the heavens of His realm²²⁹".

הוד is clearly an attribute of the kingdom of God. In 4Q403 1 i 17 (overlap with 4Q405 3 ii 6 and 4Q405 3 ii 7) we have the combination of **המלך** and **הוד**:

"The fourth among the chief princes will bless in the name of the majesty of the King all who walk in uprightness with seven words of majesty; and he will bless those who establish majesty with seven wondrous words."²³⁰

הוד occurs with kingdom language (**המלך**), and it is an attribute of God the King. The "majesty of the King", however, seems to have a strong authority. In 4Q403 1 i 32 **הוד**, **כבוד**, and **מלכות** occur:

²²⁸ C. Newsom translates here: "His royal splendor". It is certainly better to follow here also in the translation the terminology known from the OT, for that might reflect better the relationship between Hebrew Bible and the Shirot.

²²⁹ This line is also informative for the meaning of **כבוד** in the Songs. The author says here that God's kingdom has heavens, and in these heavens is the **כבוד** of God.

²³⁰ The textual situation of this line is ambiguous. Only the first occurrence of **הוד** is according to Newsom certain.

"(31) [...] O you chiefs of the praises of (32) all the godlike beings, praise the splendidly praiseworthy God (כול אלוים שבחו לאלוהי תשבחות הוד). For in the splendor of praise is the glory of His realm (מלכות). [...]"²³¹.

So the term הוד occurs here again linked with the kingdom of God. In 4Q403 1 i 38 הוד occurs 3 times ((...) הוד למלך ההוד (38*). The translation is not certain. The second הוד is clearly an attribute of the elim (כל אלי הוד: "all elim of the majesty"). The third הוד belongs to God the King (למלך ההוד: "for the King of the majesty"). That means that the term הוד is twice in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice the attribute of God the King.

In other words: the term הוד in the Shirot is linked with the concept of the kingdom of God, connected with God as the King, and appears also as an attribute of the kingdom of God. What are the differences between this concept in the OT and the Shirot? The difference here is that the kingdom of the Shirot has lost its earthly royal character and has been transferred into a mystical heavenly and angelic world. However, the author of the Songs is still using kingdom language, in particular הוד, in conjunction with God. By using this language for the description of the place of the heavenly world and its events the author makes clear that the place he is talking about is the place where God is. He proposes a place where God is the King, where the godlike beings ("servants of God") are located. That place is disconnected from the earthly kingdom. The kingdom of Israel, which was mentioned so frequently in the OT in conjunction with the term הוד, does not occur anymore. In addition, this place is filled with heavenly beings and heavenly objects. These objects remind the reader immediately of

²³¹ Translation of lines 31*-32 according to C. Newsom, *Songs*, 212. Concerning the translation I would suggest translating מלכות rather as "kingdom" than as "realm". A better translation of אלוהי תשבחות הוד might be "the godlike beings of the praiseworthiness of the majesty".

the objects of the temple. The author uses that terminology quite often as well. Consequently, the heavenly world described in the Songs has this atmosphere of kingdom *and* temple.

הוֹר is only used in conjunction with God the King and His kingdom. It is part of the heavenly world. It is still inaccessible to the human worshippers, but it is not understood as isolated as in the OT: the heavenly world of the Songs is lively; many beings, buildings, and heavenly objects are there; in the OT the הוֹר is located in heaven which is a place where only God is; that place is filled only by the presence of God (it seems), and is normally inaccessible to men, and even indescribable.

כְּבוֹד is used in exactly the same setting, but it gains, as we will see later, another quality.

כְּבוֹד is the *perceptible* supernatural or even divine phenomenon. But in the Shirot it is part of this kingdom and temple-like heavenly world.

1.4.3.2. הוֹר as part of an action of heavenly beings

In the Shirot, הוֹר is very often connected with an action ("declaration" or "blessing") of heavenly beings. People are never mentioned in this connection with הוֹר. Thus הוֹר was still regarded as something inaccessible to human beings. Only the heavenly beings, especially beings of a higher position or dignity, seem to be able to deal with the הוֹר.

In particular 4Q400 2 3 represents this group perfectly well. There, the holiest of the holy ones (קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים, 4Q400 2 1) declare "the majesty of His kingdom". Only beings who are very close to God declare His הוֹר; and even they don't seem to know it entirely (cf.: "*according to their knowledge*"). Also in 4Q403 1 i 32 the הוֹר is object of the praise of "the chiefs of the praises of all the godlike beings".

Now, two texts of the fragment 4Q403 1 i belong to this group as well, but they have another interesting element in addition. So in 4Q403 1 i 20 (overlap with 4Q405 3 ii 11*²³² and 4Q405 13 4²³³) the text says that the chief prince "... will bless all who confess Him²³⁴ with seven words of majesty...". The new element is the phrase **שבעה דברי הוד**. This phrase shows that the "seven words of *majesty*" can be said by the worshippers confessing God. Therefore, these words seem to be accessible for beings other than the chief princes, but it doesn't seem to be the "**הוד** itself" which they posses. In 4Q403 1 i 17²³⁵ the phrase is used as well. Here the fourth among the chief princes blesses those who "walk in uprightness with *seven words of majesty*". Here again the persons who are blessed by the chief prince have the seven words of majesty.

In 4Q403 1 i 17²³⁶ occurs in addition to the phrase **שבעה דברי הוד** another element which is important for the understanding of **הוד** and also **כבוד**. In 4Q403 1 i 17 the fourth among the chief princes blesses

"in the name of the majesty of the King" (בשם הוד המלך).

This phrase is extremely important for the question of **כבוד** and the name of God. It is interesting that this phrase occurs only in the fragment 4Q403 1 i, because there the blessings and praises of one "chief prince" after the other is described. So the fourth (4Q403 1 i 17) and the fifth (4Q403 1 i 19) among the chief princes are blessing "in the name" of a majesty. The phrase, therefore, seems to be a common phrase to introduce the blessing of the heavenly

²³² It is very interesting that the text of 4Q405 3 ii 11 (**הוד להודי פלא הששי**) overlaps with the end of line 20 and the beginning of line 21 of 4Q403 1 i 20. This shows that the textual situation is not certain.

²³³ 4Q405 13 4 reads **בשבעה דברי הוד כבודו הששי במשני**. The textual situation, especially the relationship between 4Q405 13 4 and 4Q403 1 i 20-21, is difficult. C. Newsom, *Songs*, 189 indicates an overlap, but **כבוד** does not occur in 4Q403 1 i 20-21 (C. Newsom, *Songs*, 188).

²³⁴ C. Newsom, *Songs*, 194 adds without obvious reason **הוד** as object of the confession. It simply doesn't occur at that point in the manuscript.

²³⁵ Translation see above.

²³⁶ Translation see above.

beings. The phrase is an expression of authority: the name of the "majesty of the King" gives the blessing of the chief princes the divine authority. In comparison with the OT, the word combination **הַדּוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ** seems to have replaced **יְהוָה**, and **הַדּוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ** seems certainly to be a substitute for the Tetragram. This again might be a hint that use of **כְּבוֹד** as substitute for the Tetragram is unlikely.

In 4Q403 I i 19 the situation is the same:

"the fifth among the chief princes will bless in the name of His marvellous

majesty (**הַדּוֹד נְפֹאֲתִיר**) all..."²³⁷.

Again one of the chief princes is blessing with the authority of God's **הַדּוֹד**: beings who are close to God are "using" the **הַדּוֹד**. The receivers of the blessings, however, do not acquire the **הַדּוֹד**.

2. **כְּבוֹד** as attribute of qualities of God or elements which are closely related to God

כְּבוֹד is here in Part 2 of the text (in contrast to Part 1) rarely used as an attribute of elements which are closely related to God: only in 4Q403 I i 8²³⁸ and 4Q403 I i 13 // 4Q405 3 ii 3²³⁹.

Not very often is **כְּבוֹד** used as an attribute of qualities of God: see 4Q403 I i 18²⁴⁰.

These occurrences demonstrate again that **כְּבוֹד** was not understood as a substitute for God, but as a term which denotes a quality or part of the nature of God.

²³⁷ Transcription and translation according to C. Newsom, *Songs*, 194.

²³⁸ תְּשַׁבְּחוּ כְּבוֹדוֹ

²³⁹ בְּשִׁבְעַת דְּבָרֵי כְּבוֹד נִפְלְאוֹתָיו

²⁴⁰ לְרַחֲמֵי כְּבוֹדוֹ

3. כבוד as attribute of elements of the heavenly world

I mentioned above that כבוד is used differently in the several parts of the Shirot, reflecting exactly the structure of the Shirot which was developed and uncovered by C. Newsom²⁴¹. The fact that in Part 2 of the Shirot כבוד is not used as attribute of elements of the heavenly world suggests again that כבוד was used differently in the different parts of the Shirot.

4. כבוד as object of praise or thanksgiving

4.1. Occurrence

Most important and most frequent in Part 2 of the Shirot is a new usage of כבוד as object of praise or thanksgiving (4Q400 2 I, 4Q400 2 3, 4Q400 2 5, 4Q400 3 ii 8/9; 4Q401 14 i 7; MasShirShabb i 10, MasShirShabb ii 12, MasShirShabb ii 13, MasShirShabb ii 20, 4Q403 I i 3, 4Q403 I i 4, 4Q403 I i 8, 4Q403 I i 25; 4Q403 I i 31, 4Q403 I i 33 // 4Q405 4-5 I (רוממו); 4Q403 I i 36 // 4Q405 4-5 4, 4Q403 I i 38). This is often combined with כבוד as an attribute of God.²⁴² The object of praise or thanksgiving is, therefore, always *God's* כבוד, indicated by using the 3.sg.m. suffix (4Q400 2 I, 4Q400 2 3, 4Q400 2 5, 4Q400 3 ii 8/9; 4Q401 14 i 7; MasShirShabb i 10 (ורוממו), MasShirShabb ii 12, MasShirShabb ii 13, MasShirShabb ii 20, 4Q403 I i 3, 4Q403 I i 4, 4Q403 I i 8, 4Q403 I i 25, MasShirShabb ii 24 // 4Q403 I i 10, 4Q403 I i 28/29, 4Q403 I i 13 // 4Q405 3 ii 3;²⁴³ 4Q403 I i 31, 4Q403 I i 33 // 4Q405 4-5 I, 4Q403 I i 36 // 4Q405 4-5 4, 4Q403 I i 38).

²⁴¹ see above pp. 49f.

²⁴² So for example in Song 6, in all the lines where כבוד occurs (except 4Q403 I i 13 // 4Q405 3 ii 3) כבוד is used as attribute of God, but at the same time as object of praise or thanksgiving (MasShirShabb i 10, MasShirShabb ii 12, MasShirShabb ii 13, MasShirShabb ii 20, 4Q403 I i 3, 4Q403 I i 4, 4Q403 I i 8, 4Q403 I i 25).

²⁴³ We have already see above (see pp. 73ff.), that in this text the understanding of כבוד is most suggestive. It shows that כבוד was understood as something which could also be returned by the worshippers to God.

This sense of the **כבוד** of God as an object of praise is possibly the most challenging aspect of understanding **כבוד** in the Shirot. It is surprising that the praise as "topic" of the Songs, described as extensive and absolute, is uttered to the **כבוד** of *God*, and not simply to God, as one would expect. Should **כבוד** be here understood as a substitute for God Himself? **כבוד** (of God) as object of praise has, especially for the earthly worshippers following the celebration of the Shirot, enormous weight at this point. Perhaps it is the intention of the author that **כבוד** be understood as something more than an attribute of God. Indeed, here again **כבוד** seems to be understood as an important divine phenomenon, demanding its own weight in the heavenly world, but still linked with God. Maybe a tendency to understand **כבוד** completely "independent" of God might come to light here, but **כבוד** is still grammatically linked with God.

4.2. Exceptions

There are only two exceptions in this part of the text where **כבוד** is used as an attribute of God, but not as object of praise or thanksgiving (Song 6: MasShirShabb ii 24 // 4Q403 1 i 10; 4Q403 1 i 28/29; 4Q403 1 i 13 // 4Q405 3 ii 3). Two lines need to be examined in detail.

a) In 4Q403 1 i 13 // 4Q405 3 ii 3 another sense of **כבוד** in the context of praise comes to light:

וּבִרְךְ לְכֹל מְרוֹמָיו הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּשִׁבְעַת דְּבָרִי [כְּנִבְיָהּ] וְנִפְלְאוֹתָיו²⁴⁴

כבוד is an attribute of the "seven wondrous words" which enable the worshipper to praise God the King. **כבוד** is here not primarily an attribute of God, but it is offered by the

worshippers *towards* God the King. That means that **כבוד** is not only part of the nature of God, but it can also be returned to God by the worshippers through worship. And as such it is understood neither as an attribute of God nor as substitute for God. **כבוד** at this point is an "independent" element which is part of the praise and which might be uttered to God, because it is due to Him.²⁴⁵

b) Also 4Q403 1 i 32 is an exception. In the **כי** clause of this line **כבוד** is again linked with praise, and in this line the author of the Songs states, for the first time, something about the quality of the **כבוד**.²⁴⁶

(....) **כי בהדר תשבחות כבוד מלכותו** (....)²⁴⁷

This is the first time that the author of the Songs says something about the **כבוד** itself. The **כבוד** is the glory of God's realm, hence, the **כבוד** of God, because everything which was made by God in that heavenly world has God's glory (at least to a certain extent)²⁴⁸. The line is again part of a "call to praise"²⁴⁹.

In this call to praise the author wants to emphasise that the more the worshippers praise God (in the heavenly world, or on earth, by singing the songs in unison with the angels), the closer they are to God, because they come nearer to the heavenly world or become even a part of that place.²⁵⁰ Here again the author tries to give the earthly worshippers singing the Songs the idea, that singing the praise described in the Songs lets them participate in the events of that

²⁴⁵ It is interesting that in Isa. 43:7 the BSL changed the usage of **כבוד** which occurs in the BHS exactly as the Shirot do in respect of **כבוד** here (see pp. 54ff.).

²⁴⁶ To call the content of the line a statment about the quality of the **כבוד** is also justified by the grammatical construction of the sentence: the author is using a nominal clause which is usually used to describe a situation/status (cf. E Kautsch/ A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 450f.).

²⁴⁷ "For in the splendour of praise is the glory of His realm."

²⁴⁸ C. Newsom states that the **כי** clauses in the Psalms "recite the mighty acts of God in creation and/or in the salvation of Isreal"(C. Newsom, *Songs*, 215). So the description in this line depends again on the relationship of creator and the creation. The latter has qualities of the former to some extent.

²⁴⁹ C. Newsom, *Songs*, 215.

²⁵⁰ If the splendor of praise is the glory of the realm, the praise brings those who are uttering to the glory, and therefore to His realm, closer to God.

heavenly world and therefore enables them to be closer to God. **כבוד**, however, is understood as an attribute of the kingdom of God, as an element of the heavenly world. **כבוד** is owned by humans to a certain extent, and **כבוד** brings the earthly worshippers closer to God.

5. Additional usages of **כבוד**

5.1. **כבוד** and creation

In 4Q402 4 15 // MasShirShabb i 6 the author is talking about "His [God's] glorious work" (**ממעשי כבוד**). Again **כבוד** is closely related to God. The creation has the **כבוד** of its creator. The quality of the creator is transferred into the creation. Many of the usages of **כבוד** in this scroll can be explained this way: in fact, every time **כבוד** is an attribute of something which is made by God or which belongs to God,²⁵¹ such is the case.

5.2. **כבוד** and the angels

כבוד (or derivatives) is also used within the angelology of the Shirot. While this topic is far too complex to be discussed in detail at this point, it has nevertheless to be stated that **כבוד** is not only used as an attribute of elements of the heavenly world, but also occasionally as an attribute of angels. In 4Q400 3 ii 8/9, for example,²⁵² the form **הנכבדנים** stands for the "angels" who are glorious. This usage of the term **כבוד** shows that the author employed the word for different purposes. One can say that in the Songs different parties have different

²⁵¹ Linguistically the concept of the relationship of the creator and the creation is indicated also by the term **ממעש**. Because, despite of the fact that **עשה** is "the third most common verb in the OT" (E. Jenni/ C. Westermann, *Theological Lexicon*, 944), it especially "describes Yahweh's creative activity in all its dimensions" (E. Jenni/ C. Westermann, *Theological Lexicon*, 949; cf. also W. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 622).

²⁵² (...) **הללו אלוהי הנכבדנים**

quantities of כבוד: God has it as part of His nature; the angels have it as well, but depending on God it is His כבוד which fills them; and the worshippers have כבוד insofar as they are created by God and they can return it to God.

6. Summary

As our investigation so far has shown, the author of the Shirot uses כבוד in the different parts of the Shirot in different ways. In Part 2 of the Shirot the sense of כבוד lies emphatically on its relationship to God. The characteristics of כבוד are as follows:

(i) The grammatical use of כבוד especially indicates that it is very often an attribute of God.

It is closely related to God, but not identical with Him. כבוד has certainly a "divine" quality or nature.

(ii) In connection with שם, כבוד is used in the Shirot as in the Hebrew Psalms: as an attribute of God and the object of human praise. כבוד is not used as a substitute for the divine

name. In connection with the phrase ברכך בשם כבודו the כבוד is *a divine phenomenon*.

As such it claims an *independent function* in the heavenly world. But it is *still linked with*

God.

(iii) In connection with the kingship of God, כבוד is not used as substitute for God Himself

or His name. As something linked with God the King, כבוד *begins to have an independent*

function in the heavenly world, rather than being a entirely "independent" phenomenon. Only

as far as it gains this function in the heavenly world, we might sense a tendency to weaken its

link with God. This tendency is certainly not carried through to the point where כבוד be-

comes anything like an independent entity.

(iv) The usage of **כבוד** in BHS, Versions, and the Shirot demonstrates that **כבוד** is *very much* part of the heavenly world as a divine phenomenon accessible for heavenly beings and earthly worshippers. Again, we found it unlikely that **כבוד** was used as substitute of the divine name.

(v) In Part 2 of the Shirot **כבוד** is rarely used as an attribute of heavenly elements like the heavenly sanctuary or furnishings. Its conjunction with God is more to the fore here.

(vi) As a *divine phenomenon*, **כבוד** is *often used as an object of praise*. This demonstrates that while **כבוד** is still linked with God, **כבוד** *demand*s its own weight in the heavenly world. **כבוד** is thus used as something which can be uttered *towards* God.

(vii) Within the concept of creation **כבוד** is described as coming from God, but also being an attribute of the creation. God has it in full: the angels to a massive degree; and the earthly worshippers to a smaller extent.

(viii) **כבוד** is never used as substitute for the divine name.²⁵³

IV. **כבוד** in the Songs 7b-12 (Part 3)

How is **כבוד** to be understood in the third part of the text of the Songs? Here as well, many aspects of the meaning of **כבוד** which we have discovered already in Part 1 and 2, occur as well. But the emphasis on **כבוד** lies here at another point, and the author adds also new layers of meaning.

²⁵³ In the Shirot, **כבוד** does not really have a function within a systematic theology. It is rather used "in love to God" and as encouragement for others (the people of Qumran) to join this "love". The function is, therefore, rather pedagogical than intellectual, logical or systematical. It doesn't seem to be the intention of the author of the scroll to describe or define the term itself, but to explain to worshippers the need, aim and function of praise of God on the Sabbath days. The term **כבוד** with its particular history is a very convenient one to use for such a purpose.

1. כבוד related to God

1.1. כבוד as attribute of God

As in Part 1 and 2 כבוד keeps its most important sense as a supernatural element connected with God, as a divine phenomenon. In consequence, כבוד is used in this part of the Songs very frequently as part of the nature of God (for example: 4Q403 1 ii 25; 4Q405 13 2 par; 4Q405 23 i 3 (indirect attribute); 4Q405 23 i 7; 11QShirShabb 5-6 6; and several times in 4Q405 ii).

כבוד is certainly not used as a substitute for God or His name.

1.2. כבוד and the kingship of God

1.2.1. כבוד and מלך

For the usage of כבוד in the word combination מלך הכבוד in 4Q403 1 ii 25; 11QShirShabb 5-6 6 (מלך הכבוד) see above.²⁵⁴ In 4Q405 23 i 9 כבוד is used in almost the same word combination (כבוד המלך)²⁵⁵. Here as well כבוד is not a substitute for God or His name, and כבוד demands as a divine phenomenon its own weight in the heavenly world. We may also sense here a tendency to weaken the formal link with God.

1.2.2. כבוד and מלכות

In 4Q403 1 ii 10; 4Q403 1 ii 10 כבוד is actually used in a construct combination with מלכות (כבוד מלכותו). In 4Q405 23 i 3 כבוד is again used in connection with "the

²⁵⁴ See p. 50.

²⁵⁵ A.M. Schwemer, *Gott als König*, 111 calls this even "den zusammenfassenden Höhepunkt der Gottesprädikationen".

kingdom". Here God's "glorious royal thrones" (כסאיכה כבוד מלכותו) are mentioned.²⁵⁶

For the description of meaning and function of כבוד in this connection see above.²⁵⁷

2. כבוד as attribute of qualities of God and exclusively heavenly elements

As an attribute of one of God's qualities כבוד occurs in 4Q405 23 i 12 (אף כבודו).

Another aspect of the meaning of כבוד occurs in this part of the Song which we discovered

only in Part 1, and not in Part 2. כבוד is used as an attribute of elements which are directly

connected with God and the heavenly world, and as an attribute of exclusively heavenly el-

ements (for example: 4Q403 1 i 45 par; 4Q405 14-15 i 1 (רוח)²⁵⁸; 4Q405 14-15 i 5; 4Q405

14-15 i 6 (דברים)²⁵⁹; . 4Q405 20 ii - 21 - 22 2(דברים)/3(מרכבות)/4(מושבי)/

5(מרכבות); 4Q405 23 ii 9 (רוח כבוד)). This use of כבוד as something purely heavenly

is a fundamental aspect of the term in the Songs, and it shows clearly that כבוד was under-

stood also as a phenomenon with its own functions and as an attribute of heavenly elements

which have כבוד by virtue of their creation. In this usage כבוד claims its own and

²⁵⁶ This word combination certainly refers to God as the King and the temple where God as King dwells. The author of the Songs obviously developed the OT word combination כסא כבודך (Jer. 14:21) and כסא כבוד (Jer. 17:12), referring to Jerusalem and the temple, by combining it with the word combination כסא מלכות (cf. 1. Chr. 22:10; 28:5; 2. Chr. 7:18; Est. 1:2; 5:1) and כסא ממלכות (Dtn. 17:18; 2. Sam. 7:13; 1 K. 9:5; Hag. 2:22). This reflects perfectly well the way the author of the Songs is interpreting ideas of the OT: he develops figures which occur in the OT only a very few times. כבוד, however, is certainly understood as something connected with the kingdom of God and the temple.

²⁵⁷ Cf. pp. 72ff. and 97f.

²⁵⁸ Text is damaged. Context is missing.

²⁵⁹ The דביר or דברים occur in the Shirot 12 times. They are understood basically as a heavenly, not material place which is not really a room or building, but similar to a temple of the presence of God. דביר is full of the כבוד of God. The connection with כבוד demonstrates that כבוד is as well part of the heavenly and templelike world where the דברים are.

important function in the heavenly world. Even a tendency weakening the link between **כבוד** and God may be detected here.

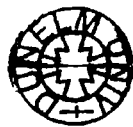
3. **כבוד** used independently of God

כבוד as an phenomenon with its own and important function in the heavenly world comes also into focus in lines where **כבוד** is used grammatically independently of God (4Q403 1 i 45 // 4Q404 5 4 // 4Q405 6 6; 4Q405 in connection with **אור**²⁶⁰; 4Q405 14-15 i 6 in connection with the **דברים**; 4Q405 15 ii - 16 4/5; 4Q405 18 4; 4Q405 19ABCD 2 // 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p 2 (**בדני כבוד**); 4Q405 19ABCD 6 (**צורות כבוד**). The frequency of this in the Songs indicates its importance. **כבוד** is *not used here in a secular sense*, because it is still part of the heavenly world and the sphere of God. But especially this usage shows a **כבוד** *which demands its own weight and importance in the heavenly world*. Here we can sense a tendency to weaken the link between God and **כבוד**. But still, **כבוד** is part of the heavenly world, hence *not "independent" of God in full*.

4. **כבוד** as attribute of heavenly elements which are linguistically linked with the earthly world

This is an entirely new aspect of the of **כבוד** in the Shirot. The author develops **כבוד** as an attribute of elements of the heavenly world in a very distinct way. He mainly describes the heavenly world, where praise takes place. Interestingly and distinctively, **כבוד** appears grammatically in connection with terms which denote phenomena actually existing on the

²⁶⁰ For details about **כבוד** and **אור** see pp. 103f..



earth as well. Therefore, the author gives the term a close connection to the earth by using it as an attribute of "earthly elements". The intention of the author at this point might be to help the earthly worshippers to understand the meaning of כבוד, and to encourage them to join the praise in the heavenly world.

But the really new aspect of the sense of כבוד used this way is that it receives the *quality of perceptibility*. Although כבוד is still understood as a phenomenon connected with the heavenly world and God himself, it is now understood also as something which can be experienced (4Q403 1 ii 3 ([...] מַלְכוּת רֹחַי...)²⁶¹; 4Q403 1 ii 10 (מֵרָאִי תִבְנִית כְּבוֹד לְרֹאשִׁי מִמַּלְכוּת רֹחַי...)²⁶²; 4Q403 1 ii 12 (וְקוֹל הַבְּרֶךְ); 4Q405 18 4 (מִקּוֹל הַכְּבוֹד); 4Q405 19ABCD 2 // 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p 2 (בְּדָנִי כְּבוֹד); 4Q405 19ABCD 6 (צִוְרוֹת כְּבוֹד); 4Q405 23 i 8 (בִּפְתָּחִי כְּבוֹד). And keeping in mind its basic significance as part of the nature of God, this nature becomes partially perceptible. Furthermore, it is very interesting that the author of the Shirot uses כבוד in this sense when it is grammatically *not* the attribute of God.²⁶³ Hence, this usage indicates as well a tendency to weaken the link between כבוד and God.

It is necessary to discuss a few lines where כבוד occurs in the above sense in more detail:

²⁶¹ See for the discussion of this text pp. 72f.

Commenting on 4Q403 1 ii 3 C. Newsom, *Songs*, 233 points out that it is the attendant spirits "who constitute the visible appearance of the Glory" (ibid.). The conjunction of כבוד and רוח might (although רוח itself is a very ambivalent term) be a point where the visibility of כבוד is constituted. But there the two terms are not even grammatically linked. 4Q405 14-15 i 1 where the terms occur grammatically linked, is damaged; and in 4Q405 14-15 i 5 (מֶלֶךְ בְּדָנִי אֹר כְּבוֹד רֹחַי) כבוד is again not connected grammatically with רוח. Only in 4Q405 23 ii 9 one can state that כבוד is used a connection with רוח which indicates its visibility. Hence the connection of כבוד with רוח is not a very strong argument for postulating an understanding of כבוד as a perceptible phenomenon.

²⁶² The term מַלְכוּת denotes as well something which exists on earth though it has certainly, according to the OT tradition, a religious meaning. For further occurrences of this word combination see pp. 73ff., 99.

²⁶³ כבוד in conjunction with the kingdom of God is an exception, because of the religious relevance of the concept.

4.1. אור and כבוד²⁶⁴

In 4Q403 1 i 45 // 4Q404 5 4 // 4Q405 6 6 כבוד is used in conjunction with אור:

[...] (והכ) בור באור אורתם דע[ת].²⁶⁵

This line and the preceeding one make up praise to God. אור and כבוד are used there to describe the wonderful place of the heavenly world where this praise takes place. This is one of the rare occasions where the author indirectly states something about the quality of the כבוד itself: the כבוד is "light". כבוד is used here as medium of praise. One can easily see at this point, how the author of the Songs uses terms denoting earthly phenomena to describe כבוד.

This connection between כבוד and אור occurs also in 4Q405 14-15 i 5:

(...) בדני אור כבוד (...).

Here as well the word combination of אור and כבוד is used within a description of the heavenly world, i.e. the "vestibules where the king enters".

This use of כבוד with אור shows that it was understood in much the same way as אור. Indeed, a striking feature of כבוד in the Songs is that its quality is linked with "light". By

²⁶⁴ The term אור means in the Qumran literature "light" (S. Aalen, אור, 166). The phenomenon of "light" has in the theology of Qumran quite a significant function: it is important for the "concepts of salvation (as glorification) in the eternal light of the hereafter (1QS 4:7f.) and of eternal destruction (1QS 2:8; 4:13)" (S. Aalen, אור, 167). Furthermore, אור is often used in connection with a "ethical dualism of light and darkness" (ibid.). Especially the Scroll of the war IQM (IQM 1:1-17; 13:2-16) describes the sons of the spirits of light and the sons of the spirit of darkness. This concept has been discussed in the modern literature (cf. J. VanderKam, *Qumranforschung*, 86-88; E.P. Sanders, *Judaism*, 249f.; Y. Yadin, *Scroll of the war*, esp. 242 (with literature)). S. Aalen, אור, 167 mentions also that especially in IQH אור is described as something which comes from God and leads to salvation (IQH 7:25; 9:26f; 18:1-6). Interesting is the statement of S. Aalen, אור, 167 that the "enlightenment" of man "does not mean a substantial change in man" (ibid.). We have seen above that the election changes the status of man and is the condition to "experience" כבוד. Maybe the election is also the condition of the "enlightenment". In this case the "enlightenment" itself would not change man indeed.

²⁶⁵ According to C. Newsom (Songs, 224) ופלא has to be taken "with the preceeding phrase rather than with כבוד" (ibid.), and כבוד [ן] has to be read as כבוד. For comments and arguments see C. Newsom, *Songs*, 224.

using these two words so closely together the author implies that כבוד is visible in the heavenly world, and he suggests that the earthly worshippers understand כבוד as a "visible phenomenon".²⁶⁶

4.2. 4Q405 18 4

Another text where כבוד is used in conjunction with something earthly, and where the author implies that כבוד is a element which can be experienced, is 4Q405 18 4. There the author points out that the debirim "make haste at the sound of the glory (מקול הכבוד)". This text indicates that כבוד could be sometimes made to refer to something which can be experienced by the heavenly beings in the heavenly world. Hence, this usage implies that it is audible also for humans on earth when they join the worship.²⁶⁷

4.3. 4Q405 19ABCD 2 // 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p 2

In 4Q405 19ABCD 2 // 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p 2 כבוד is used again in conjunction with a term denoting in the first place an earthly element: בדני כבוד. This line again implies that the כבוד is visible.

In 4Q405 19ABCD 6 כבוד is used in exactly the same way. At this place it is grammatically connected with צור.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Here as well he uses כבוד only in this sense when כבוד is not an attribute of God.

²⁶⁷ According to C. Newsom, *Songs*, 292 the usage of כבוד with article in this line, might be the "earliest attested of the 'substitutes' for the divine name" (cf. also J. Strugnell, *Angelic Liturgy*, 338 who refers to 4Q405 20ii-21-22 7). But the article alone cannot be the reason to assume a substitute for the divine name. הכבוד occurs also in (always in connection with מלך!): MasShirShab ii 12 (p.6); 4Q403 I i 31; 4Q403 I ii 25(p.11); 11QShirShabb 5-6 6. And even there הכבוד is not used as substitute for the divine name (cf. pp. 73ff., 99).

²⁶⁸ צור is also used in Ez. 43:11 referring to the temple.

4.4. 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6-14

In 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6-14 **כבוד** occurs 5 times in the context of praise and as an attribute of elements of the heavenly world, which do also exist on the earth, so that **כבוד** is used again as if it were visible: l. 7: **אלוהי דעת במשכן הכבוד**²⁶⁹; l. 9: **מושב כבודו**; l. 10: **כבוד מרכבות**²⁷¹ l. 11a: **ברוקמת כבוד**²⁷⁰; l. 11b: **גלגלי כבוד**.

5. **כבוד** as object of praise

כבוד is here understood as an object of praise (for example: 4Q403 1 ii 25²⁷²; 11QShirShabb q 4; 4Q405 20 ii21-22 7 (object of joy)). But this usage is not very frequent in this part of the text. The author of the Songs changed this usage to some extent. According to the intention of the text of Part 3 **כבוד** occurs now quite often in the *context* of praise and blessing rather than directly as the object of such an action (for example: 4Q405 1 i 45 par; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3/6-14).

²⁶⁹ The reading of **כבוד** follows the suggestion of C. Newsom, *Songs*, 303f.. The word preceding **כבוד** is very difficult (cf. C. Newsom, *Songs*, 304f.), but not decisive for the question above. The important question about **כבוד** in this line concerns its connection with something which also exists on earth, rather than whether **הכבוד** is at this point an "angelic epithet" (C. Newsom, *Songs*, 312).

²⁷⁰ Cf. Ez. 10:6, where **גלגל** is used to describe the happening in the temple while God is present there. The usage of **כבוד** in connection with **גלגל** at this point demonstrates the ambivalent understanding of the word **כבוד**: the author of the Songs uses this word combination implying that **כבוד** can be experienced; on the other hand, the term has already a divine connotation because of its use in the Hebrew Bible (i.e. in Ez. 10:6 in conjunction with the temple and God). Furthermore, it is very interesting that, in contrast to Ez. 1:4,27f. where the "fiery substance" is identified with **כבוד** (c. Newsom, *Songs*, 315), "in the Shirot the fieriness of the Glory is interpreted as the appearance of fiery angelic spirits" (ibid.). This is a very important difference in understanding of **כבוד** between OT and the Shirot.

²⁷¹ Also C. Newsom, *Songs*, 316 mentions that this line is part of the description of the "visible glory" (ibid.). According to C. Rowland, *Visions*, 143, n.14 these "color terms" (**צבעי** and **רוקמת**) "are images of the rainbow image which further describes the **נוגה** (the radiance of the Glory) in Ez.1:28 (...)" (C. Newsom, *Songs*, 316f). This parallelism with the image of the rainbow shows clearly that **כבוד** was understood in the Songs as a visible phenomenon.

²⁷² **למלך הכבוד** as object of **רוםם** and **ותשבחות** indicated grammatically by the preposition **ל**.

6. Summary

It is evident that **כבוד** in this part of the Shirot differs at times from its uses in Part 1 and 2, although many of the senses of the word which we have discovered in Part 1 and 2 still occur. **כבוד** in Part 3 presents itself as follows:

- (i) **כבוד** is used as an attribute of God and as part of His nature. **כבוד** is a "divine phenomenon".
- (ii) In connection with the kingship of God **כבוד** claims as "divine phenomenon" its own function in the heavenly world. Hence, it is still linked with God.
- (iii) In contrast to Part 2 of the Shirot, **כבוד** occurs in Part 3 as an attribute of heavenly elements. Here **כבוד** claims even more an independent function, and even a tendency to weaken the link between **כבוד** and God may be sensed.
- (iv) **כבוד** is in this part of the Shirot also used grammatically independently of God. Here the tendency of understanding **כבוד** as not only an independent phenomenon of the heavenly world, but also as independent of God becomes obvious. This understanding is still only a tendency, because **כבוד** is still part of the heavenly word which was created by God and is His sphere.
- (v) **כבוד** changes entirely in Part 3 of the Shirot, when it is used grammatically independently of God and comes to be understood as a perceptible phenomenon. Used in this way, it claims even more its own importance and weight. Its link to God exists only through its remaining a part of the sphere of God in the heavenly world.

(vi) Striking is the fact that **כבוד** in Part 3 of the Shirot is no longer used to refer to an object of praise. This as well indicates its "independent" nature, because when used as object of praise it was always an attribute of God.

(vii) Throughout this part of the Shirot **כבוד** is, furthermore, not used as substitute for God or His name.

V. **כבוד** in Song 13 (Part 4)

Song 13 has to be considered separately because the author gives in this part a summary: first a description of the angelic highpriests, and then a systematic list of the contents and structure of the heavenly temple. He concludes with a statement of the importance of their praise.

1. **כבוד** related to God

1.1. **כבוד** as attribute of God

Also in this part of the text of the Songs **כבוד** is used often (4 times) as an attribute of God:

4Q405 23 ii 3/12; 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 1/6.

Once 4Q405 23 ii 13 it is used to qualify as an attribute of God (**בשכל כבודו**).

In 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 3 **כבוד** is used along with the idea of the relationship of creator and creation. Unfortunately the text is damaged.²⁷³ But one can state that the deeds or works of God (**כבוד מעשיו**)²⁷⁴ have glory.

²⁷³ (...) **כב[ור מעשיו ובאור]** (...)

²⁷⁴ Again the root **עשה** is used in this context which suggests that the author of the Songs is using the concept of creation of the OT for his purposes (cf. p. 96₂₅₁).

1.2. מלכות or מלך and כבוד

כבוד occurs in this Song quite often in connection with מלך or מלכות. In 4Q405 23 ii 11/12 it occurs in the word combination מלכות כבוד. In 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 4/5 the word combination מלך הכבוד is present again. And in 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 6 כבוד the "throne of the glory" of God (כסאי כבודו) is mentioned.

For the impact of this usage on the meaning of כבוד see above.²⁷⁵

2. כבוד as attribute of the palace or temple

In 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7 כבוד is used as a attribute of the palace (היכלי כבודו) which is located in the heavenly world. The use of כבוד in this particular way must have given the people singing this text the impression that כבוד is the dominating term of the word combination. So even here, כבוד has its own and independent function in the heavenly world.

3. כבוד used independently of God

It is interesting that כבוד is not used in this Song independently of God.

4. כבוד as attribute of heavenly elements which are linked with the earthly world

Also in the last Song כבוד is used in a way which implies that it was understood as a perceptible phenomenon. In 4Q405 23 ii 8 the author talks about the "the glorious appearance of scarlet" (כבוד מראי שני).

²⁷⁵

See pp. 97f..

5. כבוד as object of praise

כבוד is also in this Song linked with praise and blessing. So "His glorious work" blesses God in 4Q405 23 ii 12. In 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7 the fact that in the heavenly world exist glorious palaces of God (היכלי כבוד) is reason to praise God.²⁷⁶

6. Summary

Song 13 concludes the Shirot. The importance of praise is mentioned. כבוד occurs quite often. Most important in this Song is its exclusive use as an attribute of God. On the one occasion where it is used in conjunction with a heavenly object, it is not used independently of God. And as we have seen above, כבוד is never at any point used independently of God.

VI. Conclusion

In this investigation into the meaning and usage of כבוד in the Shirot we have determined the sense of כבוד in each part of the Shirot. The final step of this study is a attempt to characterise the sense of כבוד with regard to the entire text of the Shirot.

As we have seen investigating the sense of כבוד in the Shirot, the usage of the term changes noticeably between the 4 Parts of the text. In order to characterise the sense of כבוד in the entire text I will first outline the most decisive usages of כבוד before drawing a final conclusion.

(i) On many occasions, especially in respect of the terms כבוד occurs with, כבוד is described as a phenomenon *of a heavenly world*. כבוד belongs to a world which in the Shirot

²⁷⁶ The thanksgiving is introduced in l. 5.

is described like a temple or a palace. **כבוד** is *part of this holy place*. Any other aspect of understanding of **כבוד** depends entirely on this description.

(ii) **כבוד** is very often used as an *attribute of God*. It is not identical with God. **כבוד** has a "*divine*" quality or nature.

(iii) **כבוד** is not used as substitute for God or the divine name. It claims its own importance and function, possibly by loosening its direct grammatical link with God; but it is not used as an expression which does duty for God.

(iv) **כבוד** is *linked with the concept of creation*. Here in the first place it is used as an attribute of God the creator. But the creation has also some of this **כבוד**, because it was created by God. Hence **כבוד** becomes, to a certain extent, also an attribute of the heavenly beings and the earthly worshippers who join their praise.

(v) On several occasions, especially in Part 2 of the Shirot, we have seen that **כבוד** claims as *divine* phenomenon an independent *function* in the heavenly world. As such it is still linked with God.

(vi) As a divine element **כבוד** is often used as *object of praise*. Here as well it demands its own weight and importance in the heavenly world, but keeps its link with God.

(vii) On other occasions, quite frequently in Part 3 of the Shirot, **כבוד** not only claims its own *function* in the heavenly world, but even displays a tendency to become a *heavenly phenomenon which has its own weight and which is "independent" of God*. But this understanding is even then not fully developed, for **כבוד** remains *still linked with God* as part of the heavenly world which He created. But this link is now a *weak* one.

(viii) **כבוד** is, especially in Part 3 of the Shirot, understood as a *perceptible phenomenon*, accessible for heavenly beings and earthly worshippers joining the praise.

(ix) **כבוד** is *of concern for the earthly worshippers*. **כבוד** brings them closer to the world which is described in the Songs, and therefore closer to God.

These characteristics of **כבוד** demonstrate quite well how **כבוד** is understood in the Shirot. **כבוד** is an important phenomenon of the heavenly world which is described in the Shirot. It is very much understood as a divine phenomenon, linked with God, but not identical with Him. **כבוד** does not loose this link. As such it claims to be an important phenomenon of the heavenly world with its own function. But we can also see a strong tendency to give **כבוד** even more importance and to weaken its link to God. This, however, was not carried through to the point where **כבוד** acquires a quality of selfdetermination. Although **כבוד** is several times used independently of God, it is not understood in a secular sense as often in the OT, for it is always part of the heavenly word which was created by God and which is the sphere of God. This is the means by which **כבוד** as a perceptible phenomenon can bring the earthly worshipper closer to God: it is perceptible and divine.

Hence **כבוד** as a divine phenomenon is not entirely defined through its grammatical direct dependence on God, but is always linked with Him; **כבוד** is an important phenomenon of the heavenly world, and has its own particular function there.

Part V: Comparison

A. Comparison of the understanding of כבוד in 1QH and the Shirot

Comparing the understanding of כבוד in 1QH and the Shirot, one is amazed that the word is used and understood so differently in the two writings found at Qumran. Therefore I will try to outline the most important differences in their understanding of כבוד in 8 points:

(i) The key to the understanding of כבוד in both writings is its relationship to God. In 1QH כבוד is always and very firmly linked with God: it is the כבוד of God. כבוד has a secondary function alongside God. In the Shirot, כבוד is used on many occasions as a divine phenomenon which claims to have its own and important function in the heavenly world. As such it is often used (grammatically) independently from God. כבוד begins to be something which is (almost) independent of God. The function of כבוד is not any longer secondary alongside God. But this independence has not been worked out in full. כבוד as part of the heavenly world which was created by God and which is His sphere, is still linked with God. Therefore we can still call it a *divine* phenomenon. But this link became weaker. כבוד as *phenomenon* is far more important for the "theology" of the Shirot than it is in 1QH. Many of the following differences confirm this observation.

(ii) In 1QH כבוד occurs in a text containing Hymns uttered directly to God. The כבוד of God Himself and the כבוד of God in His creation is understood as *reason for the praise* of the psalmist. In the Shirot the כבוד (of God) is very often understood as the *object of the praise* of the heavenly beings, and stands therefore more "independently" from God than in 1QH.

- (iii) The connection of כבוד and the concept of election is understood differently in the two writings. In 1QH, election is the condition for experiencing כבוד. In the Shirot, the concept is not important for the heavenly beings, for they are part of the sphere of God. Earthly worshippers, however, have to be purified to join the heavenly praise. This last is not the same as election: in case of election, God's initiative gives humans the opportunity to experience כבוד, whereas in case of the Shirot this dependence on election is not expressed.
- (iv) In both writings כבוד is linked with אור. But in 1QH the connection indicates that כבוד was understood as a *phenomenon of light*, only to be experienced through interior understanding, whereas in the Shirot this connection leads to the understanding of כבוד as a *visible phenomenon*. Furthermore, כבוד is used with light in 1QH always as an attribute of God; in the Shirot, it is used independently of God. This confirms observation (i).
- (v) In 1QH כבוד can only be *experienced through interior understanding or belief*. In the Shirot on many occasions כבוד is understood as a phenomenon which can be *experienced physically*. The Shirot seems almost to have developed the one exception in 1QH where כבוד was used as object of a verb of sensible perception!
- (vi) In both writings כבוד is integrated in an eschatological time concept. In 1QH the כבוד mentioned by the chosen psalmist can still not be imagined in full; the time is still not fulfilled. Only final revelation will allow the chosen ones to experience the כבוד of God in full. In the Shirot the situation is different. כבוד is part of the heavenly world which is described as the present kingdom of God. So כבוד is already part of the fulfilled time, and therefore perceptible in full. Hence one could argue that 1QH and Shirot understand כבוד in

the same way, the difference lying in the involvement of the earthly worshipper. The Shirot suggests that the earthly worshipper joining the heavenly praise is able to experience כבוד in full. According to 1QH this is not possible.

(vii) The concept of creation (the creation has also the כבוד of its creator) in the two writings has a different function. In 1QH the psalmist sees in the creation the כבוד of God - and this is a reason for him to praise God. In the Shirot, the concept of creation is on many occasions the only link between God and כבוד.

(viii) In 1QH כבוד is part of eternity, and can only be experienced through one's interior understanding. So כבוד belongs to a world of "knowledge and belief" which is different from the earth, but which is also the sphere of God. Hence in 1QH this "sphere of God" is understood as a *metaphysical place*. In the Shirot כבוד is part of the sphere of God which is described as the *lively heavenly world* full of beings and objects.

B. Comparison of the understanding of כבוד/δόξα in the MT and the LXX with 1QH and the Shirot

(i) The most interesting aspect of the understanding of כבוד/δόξα in the writings which we have considered is its relationship to God. This relationship is developed differently in the various writings and has, therefore, different facets.

In the MT כבוד is understood in two different ways: it is either used in an entirely secular sense, or it is the כבוד-יהוה. The second understanding is certainly the more important one.

The understanding of δόξα in the LXX is in the first place a development of the understanding of כבוד understood in relation to God: the LXX interpreted δόξα as purely divine phenomenon. Nevertheless, we can also find occurrences of δόξα where it is used in a secular sense. But these occasions have to be considered as remains of the understanding of כבוד in a secular sense represented in the MT. Hence, the process of giving δόξα a different meaning as כבוד in the MT was not carried through systematically. But the dominant tendency to understand δόξα in this way is very obvious.

In the two writings from Qumran, כבוד is never understood in a secular sense. In 1QH כבוד is always the כבוד of God, hence a divine attribute. כבוד has also a secondary function alongside God. In the Shirot, כבוד as a heavenly phenomenon is never used in a secular sense. The understanding of the link between כבוד and God is ambivalent. כבוד is used often as a divine phenomenon which sometimes even claims its own and independent function in the heavenly world. But it is still linked with God. We may also detect a tendency to understand כבוד as a heavenly phenomenon which functions independently of God. However, as part of the heavenly world of God, כבוד seems always to be linked with God.

1QH and the Shirot do not have an understanding of כבוד/δόξα in any secular sense.

They only use one aspect of the understanding of כבוד displayed in the MT.

The LXX tried generally to avoid the secular sense of the word; and 1QH appears to have developed in full this tendency of interpretation attested by the LXX. The Shirot develops the interpretation attested by the LXX as well, but reaches a level which goes far beyond that found in LXX. So 1QH and Shirot display tendencies in the treatment of כבוד which are similar to those apparent in LXX, but which go further and in different directions.

(ii) For the understanding of **כבוד** in connection with **שם** and the verb **ברך** in IQH and the Shirot, and the comparison with MT and the versions see above.²⁷⁷

(iii) The question of the secular sense of the word is also important for understanding the usage of **כבוד**/δόξα as an attribute of human beings.

In the MT, **כבוד** is frequently used to denote human "honour" or "reputation". The authors of the LXX even extended this usage.

IQH still uses **כבוד** grammatically as an attribute of human beings (twice); but the context proves that **כבוד** is here not understood in a secular sense. In the Shirot, it never expresses a secular concept, for it is always part of the heavenly world.

So only in the MT and the LXX **כבוד**/δόξα was used in conjunction with humans in a secular sense. The writings of Qumran no longer use **כבוד** in this sense, but only as supernatural phenomenon.

(iv) In all writings the question whether **כבוד**/δόξα was understood as a *perceptible phenomenon* was very striking. In the MT the situation is ambivalent: **כבוד** is a *phenomenon of the presence of God which might be directly or indirectly perceptible*.

In the LXX we encounter a change: δόξα is now understood as a *perceptible divine attribute*.

In IQH **כבוד** can be *experienced, but only through interior understanding or belief*. In the Shirot **כבוד** is often understood as a *(divine) phenomenon which can be experienced physically*.

Here we discover a major difference between MT and LXX: LXX attempts to solve the ambivalence of the MT and develops the understanding of כבוד/δόξα as perceptible phenomenon. 1QH develops the understanding in its own way, by giving כבוד the sense of something that can be experienced, but not physically. The idea that humans can only approach כבוד indirectly recalls the statement of MT that the chosen people "believed" the thunderstorm to be the appearance of God. Both ways of approach happen through belief. But in 1QH the manner of experience is more direct.

It is therefore most interesting that the Shirot understands כבוד rather like the LXX δόξα: as a perceptible phenomenon. But in the LXX, δόξα is also understood as a divine attribute, whereas in the Shirot, כבוד is never linked grammatically with God, even when it is used as perceptible phenomenon.

The ideas already presented in the LXX are developed by the Shirot further. 1QH develops MT carefully trying to solve the ambivalence offered by MT. It is very interesting to note that at this point the understanding of כבוד/δόξα seems to be more developed in the LXX than in 1QH.

(v) The *concept of election* in the writings is important to a different degree. In the MT the theophany happens in front of the chosen people Israel or a chosen person (like Moses or Aaron). Election is not described as a condition, a *sine qua non* of the "experience" of כבוד. In the LXX the situation is the same: election is not described as a condition for the experience of δόξα. Only in one verse (Nu. 27:20) the idea of a personal election as a condition for acquisition of δόξα comes into focus.²⁷⁸

In 1QH election is almost a theme of the writing. Without election, human beings cannot imagine the **כבוד** of God. The election is the act of God's choice of a *particular* person, who can then perceive through interior understanding the **כבוד**.

In the Shirot, election has only a subordinate function concerning the heavenly world. There everything is chosen *per definitionem*. The idea that earthly worshippers join the heavenly world after their purification might be a development of the idea in the MT that the theophany appears only to chosen people like Moses or Aaron.

LXX offers here little change from the MT. 1QH supports the theory that authors of Qumran tend to develop ideas of the OT which occur there only rarely, and which are difficult to interpret. Nu. 27:20 is difficult, because **כבוד/δόξα** is rarely used as something which is given from one human being to another. 1QH develops at this point an aspect of election, described as the handing over of **δόξα** from one chosen person to another.

(vi) Another aspect of **כבוד/δόξα** in comparison with each other is of interest: are **כבוד/δόξα** described as something which is given by humans to God?

In the narratives of the theophany in the MT the **כבוד-יהוה** comes always from God to the people. In Ezekiel, God shows His **כבוד** to a human being. In some of the poetical texts it is said (for example in Ps. 29:1; 66:2; 96:7) that **כבוד** is given to God by humans. That means that we have within the MT a tradition where the **כבוד-יהוה** is *exceptionally understood as something which comes from God to human beings*, as well as a tradition which speaks of the opposite: **כבוד** given to God, by worshippers or devotees.

The LXX developed the second tradition by using $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ in this sense in places where the MT does not have **כבוד** at all.

Strikingly, 1QH does not follow the second tradition of MT, but understood **כבוד** as a reason for the praise of God uttered by human beings. Hence 1QH develops only one aspect of the first tradition.

The Shirot develops independently a new understanding: **כבוד** as the object of praise.

(vii) Also significant is the appearance of **כבוד**/ $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ in conjunction with a holy place. In the MT the theophany (appearance of **כבוד-יהוה**) takes place in the tent or on a mountain. Often the **כבוד-יהוה** is also linked with the temple in Jerusalem. Furthermore, **כבוד**, not necessarily the **כבוד-יהוה**, is in the MT an attribute of sacred paraphernalia.

In the LXX, $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ is used similarly. The usage of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ as attribute of objects of the temple is more frequent than in the MT. $\Delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$, therefore, gains in the LXX a little bit more "independence" from God.

1QH does not have this notion at all. It seems to avoid the idea of **כבוד** at a holy place. The Shirot, however, developed the idea which was already stronger in the LXX: $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ as something bound up with the temple, grammatically not linked with God, by giving **כבוד**, understood almost independently of God, a very important function in the heavenly world. This world is described as if it were a temple or holy palace. The Shirot develops here an aspect of the understanding of **כבוד**/ $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ which we find in the MT, but which is already in the LXX developing somewhat in the direction of the Shirot.

(viii) Interesting as well is the conjunction of כבוד/δόξα with the kingship of God. In the MT *only* in Ps. 24 כבוד and מלך occur together. In the LXX δόξα occurs only in connection with earthly kings. In 1QH כבוד never occurs in conjunction with מלך. Finally in the Shirot, the conjunction of כבוד and God as King is common and central to the thought of the document.

Hence, the conjunction of כבוד and מלך indicates again that especially the Shirot develops significantly ideas which occur in the OT only once.

(ix) כבוד and eschatology

In the MT כבוד was used often in an "eschatological setting". The future revelation was understood as the revelation of the כבוד יהוה. But according to the "eschatological concept" of the OT the presence of כבוד does not depend on a presence defined as an eschatological "present age". From the perspective of the authors, כבוד יהוה has been revealed before, and therefore a future revelation is expected as a sign of JHWH that He is still with His people.

In the verses of the LXX, where δόξα occurs in an eschatological setting translating כבוד, δόξα is used like כבוד. In those texts where the authors are influencing the meaning of δόξα actively, by using it as translation for Hebrew terms other than "glory", they are much more careful in giving it an eschatological meaning.

In 1QH the eschatological present age is the condition for experiencing the כבוד of God.

In the Shirot this present age has already begun in the heavenly world, and to some extent also for the purified earthly worshipper.

The writings of Qumran have a new eschatology. Both developed the eschatology of MT and LXX. The latter should probably be located between MT and the Qumran writings.

(x) כבוד in the sense of "for the sake of (His) glory"

At this point another aspect of the relationship between the writings comes into focus: on some occasions, the authors of 1QH develop an idea of the Hebrew Bible or the LXX which occurs only a few times, or even only once, in one of those two texts. So in the Hebrew Bible כבוד is only once used in the phrase "and for the sake of his glory". Also in the LXX this usage occurs only once (Jer. 13:11). In 1QH, by contrast, this usage is quite common, as we have seen above. The Shirot does not have it.

(xi) כבוד and the theme of darkness and light

As we know, this theme for the authors of Qumran is an important theological idea, and we can find it several times in 1QH linked with כבוד. In the LXX, however, only in Isa. 60:19 did the authors link δόξα with this theme, where it is not really developed theologically. Thus the authors of 1QH developed an idea which is found in the LXX only once.

Afterword

This study has demonstrated how כבוד and δόξα were used in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, 1QH, and the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice.²⁷⁹ We have discovered the meaning of

²⁷⁹ A detailed examination of the usage of "gloria" in the Vulgate was beyond the scope of this study. The Vulgate has only been considered when appropriate. But our investigations have, on specific points, tended show

these terms in these writings. This afterword does not intend to describe usage and meaning of כבוד and δόξα again, or to re-present the different senses of the terms in the different writings: this has already been done in detail (cf. summaries and conclusions). But this is an occasion to emphasise the most important aspect of the sense of כבוד and δόξα, to point out some of the consequences which the results of the examination of the terms have for the understanding of the history of the writings themselves and for the comparative studies of the writings, and to expound the difficulties with which studies like this have to deal. We shall also look forward to points where further scholarly work needs to be done.

Apart from the fact that כבוד or δόξα, in all these texts, are theologically significant terms, one aspect of their usage and meaning dominates their sense: the frequent connection of כבוד and δόξα with God. Their meaning as phenomena which are closely related with God is present in all the writings which we have considered in this study. The exact level of development of their meaning in the different writings differs, sometimes to an enormous extent; but the most decisive and significant meaning of כבוד or δόξα is the "glory of God". כבוד and δόξα used in this phrase have a "divine" character, understood as an attribute of God, or even as a part of His nature. But the exact relationship of the terms with God differs considerably. In the writings which have considered the manifestation of this relationship changes.

But apart from the pure descriptions of the usage and meaning of כבוד and δόξα in the writings, the terms in their "divine" connotation are certainly significant for the relationship between people described in the texts and their God, or for the relationship between God and the persons who wrote the texts, who read them, or who used them on some-liturgical

the importance of the Latin translation of כבוד for the understanding of כבוד especially in the Qumran writings.

occasions. The usage of כבוד and δόξα reflects to some extent quite clearly the relationship of God and the believers. In the Hebrew Bible כבוד is (mainly) either a phenomenon which occurs in theophany, and therefore at a moment when God confirms His faithful relationship with His people, or it is, in poetical texts, something the worshipper can direct worship and praise towards. In the Septuagint, δόξα is used in much the same way, but even more frequently. In IQH the כבוד of God is mainly a phenomenon the worshippers direct their praise towards, and in the Shirot כבוד is even understood as something which brings the worshippers closer to the sphere of God and therefore to God Himself. Hence, the כבוד and δόξα (of God) are in all these texts significant aspects of the relationship of God and the believers. So even if the precise usage and sense of כבוד and δόξα differs in the writings, the link between God and believer in all those texts which we have considered is very much to the fore.

In addition, this investigation has not only cast light on כבוד and δόξα, but has proved also to be significant for the question of the authorship of some of the considered texts. In IQH we have seen that the grammatical use of כבוד changes at certain points in the text; this fact may well strongly support the view that at least two authors were involved in the composition of the text. Concerning the LXX, we know that a number of translators were occupied with the problems of translating several books. With respect to δόξα, we detected a certain process of development of the understanding of the term on the part of some translators; but this process was not *everywhere* apparent. This fact demonstrates that different translator may have held different opinions concerning the sense of δόξα. At least with regard to δόξα, they did not follow a rigid theological doctrine.

Furthermore, the investigation of δόξα in the LXX has shown that the Septuagint is not simply a translation of the Hebrew Bible, but also represents a very significant theological reflection of the Hebrew text.

We also compared the use of כבוד and δόξα in the different writings. We based these comparisons on examinations of the terms in the different texts. The comparisons were undertaken from several different standpoints, and produced results which are important for understanding the relationship between the different writings. For instance, when we compared the usage and sense of כבוד/ δόξα in 1QH and the Shirot we found out that כבוד is understood considerably differently in these texts, although both writings have been found in the caves of Qumran. We have also noted that 1QH and Shirot obviously used, interpreted, and developed the כבוד of the Hebrew Bible in their own particular ways. But to get a complete picture of the understanding of a term which is used in the Hebrew Bible *and* in these writings of Qumran, it was not enough to compare usages and meanings of the term in these texts alone. We found also that the sense of כבוד in the two Qumran writings is closely related to its usage in the Ancient Versions. In fact, on several occasions 1QH or the Shirot are apparently developing usage of δόξα in the Septuagint, or even of "gloria" in the Vulgate, usages which were not found in the Hebrew Bible. So we came to the conclusion that a precise definition of the sense of a theologically significant (Hebrew) term cannot only focus on its usage in the Hebrew Bible and the texts of Qumran, but has also to take into consideration its usage in the Ancient versions. To make statements about the history of a term which is theologically significant in the Hebrew Bible and the Scrolls it is necessary to examine its usage in the Hebrew Bible, *and* the Versions, *and* the texts of Qumran. With respect to כבוד/ δόξα, we saw that it is difficult to give a history of the terms כבוד/ δόξα by merely evaluating the data of their usage in the different writings, for the authors of 1QH and the

Shirot do not simply follow the Hebrew Bible, or develop in their writings the same single aspect of a term found in the Hebrew Bible or in one of the Versions. Rather, they work with aspects of the usage of כבוד/ δόξα which we find in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, *and* the Vulgate and compose an entirely new understanding of כבוד. Thus one major conclusion may be drawn with some confidence from the comparative part of this study: the authors of 1QH and the Shirot used and developed aspects of the כבוד which we find in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, *and* the Vulgate.

Investigating the meaning of כבוד and δόξα, linguistically the "word field" of the terms proved to be important for the understanding of the terms. We have seen that the examination of related terms helped to clarify how כבוד or δόξα themselves were understood. But we have also seen that differences of understanding of these related terms between the different writings which we considered do not always reflect the differences of the usages of כבוד and δόξα between exactly the same texts. At some points the "tradition of understanding" or the "history of understanding" of כבוד and δόξα seems to define the relationship of the writings in a different way than the tradition or history of their related terms. This means first, that the conclusions which are based on (linguistic) investigations, and which have the aim of defining the sense of כבוד/ δόξα as such, have to be drawn very carefully. But secondly, this investigation has clearly and definitely shown aspects of the sense of כבוד/ δόξα which are significant. And keeping in mind the complex and complicated (linguistic) circumstances, these aspects offer quite a precise picture of the senses of כבוד/ δόξα in the different writings. That said, only the extension of a study like this to all available contemporary texts of the time of Qumran and before, and similar detailed investigations of theologically

significant terms in all these writings, will help to clarify our understanding of the relationship of these writings themselves.

In particular, the examination of כבוד (or translations of it) as interpreted by the Aramaic Targums will be essential to understand how "the glory of God" was understood at a time shortly before Jesus Christ came to the earth. This further investigation is beyond the limited scope of this study, but needs to be done in order to get the full picture of כבוד and its meaning.

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